

A MAGNET SCHOOL AND DESEGREGATION:
A CASE STUDY OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
HIGH SCHOOL, 1975-1980

By

JAMES ADRIAN FERRELL

Bachelor of Arts / History
Oklahoma City University
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
1992

Master of Arts / History
The University of Central Oklahoma
Edmond, Oklahoma
2000

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
December, 2008

A MAGNET SCHOOL AND DESEGREGATION:
A CASE STUDY OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
HIGH SCHOOL, 1975-1980

Dissertation Approved:

Dr. A. Kenneth Stern

Dissertation Adviser

Dr. Edward Harris

Dr. Bernita Krum

Dr. Elizabeth Williams

Dr. A. Gordon Emslie

Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The people involved with the completion of this degree over the past seven years are too numerous to mention. I would like to highlight a few though, with whose help the dissertation would not have been possible. To my dissertation advisor, Dr. Ken Stern, I owe a debt of gratitude. He helped me through, what seemed like, endless drafts, always being positive and encouraging. I enjoyed the conversations he and I had at Mojo's over the past years. Dr. Stern and Dr. Ed Harris have guided me through many of my classes, and their input has been invaluable. Dr. Krum's editing skills have made me a better writer and a clearer thinker. I have listened to her advice and have become a better researcher because of it. Dr. Williams was the first person that I met when I came to Oklahoma State University and I am grateful she accepted my invitation to serve on my committee and offered her advice.

I would like to extend my thanks to all of those who participated in the study. I enjoyed visiting with everybody. If your passion and love of Booker T. Washington did not come through in my writing, then the fault lies with me.

My family has always supported me along the way. Who I am today is a result of my parents, James and Barbara Ferrell, and my grandfather, Roy Smith. One of the happiest days in my life was being able to walk across the stage and receive this degree with them watching. When I used to talk about heroes in class and ask the students to

name their heroes, they eventually always asked me to name mine. It never failed that I always named my father and grandfather.

To my friends in Tulsa, you are the best. Rich, Brian, and Alana, you are the ones who heard me every day as I began complaining that I am getting tired of school. I can never tell you how much your support has helped me make it to this point in my life.

Thanks for listening to me at our weekly coffees as I stated the latest theory I discovered or I ranted about politics. I know that you were not listening most of the time, but the fact that you made me think you were is what makes you guys special.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION	1
Problem Statement	3
Purpose of the Study	3
Research Questions	4
Theoretical Framework	5
Perpetuation Theory	5
Network Analysis	6
Definition/Explanation of Terms	8
Significance of Study	9
Conclusion	10
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	11
Introduction	11
Supreme Court Decisions	11
Desegregation	19
Magnet Schools	20
Tulsa Public Schools	23
School Culture	26
Limitations of the Literature	29
III. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	31
Participants	33
Data Collection	34
Group 1: Associates of Booker T. Washington High School	35
Bruce Howell	36
Roy Lewis	37
H.J. Green	37
Julius Pegues	39
Nancy McDonald	39
Group 2: Graduates of Booker T. Washington High School	40
Gregory Goodwin	41
Carlye O. Jimerson	41
Vee Sutton Price	42
Kevin Williams	42
Stephen Broussard	43
Michael Pegues	43

Data Analysis	44
Trustworthiness	45
Role of Researcher	46
Significance of Study	47
Limitations of Study	48
IV. PRESENTATION OF THE DATA.....	50
Group 1: General Responses to Interview Questions	51
Question 1	51
Question 2	62
Question 3	65
Question 4	67
Question 5	67
Group 2: General Responses to Interview Questions	70
Question 1	70
Question 2	76
Question 3	78
Question 4	83
Question 5	85
Question 6	87
Emergent Themes	92
V. ANALYSIS OF DATA.....	98
Analysis of Data.....	98
Associates of Booker T. Washington High School	99
Graduates of Booker T. Washington High School	100
Summary	104
VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, BENEFITS, RECOMMENDATIONS, & COMMENTS	106
Summary of the Study	106
Summary of the Findings.....	107
Conclusions.....	108
Benefits	113
Research.....	113
Theory	114
Practice.....	114
Recommendations.....	115
Comments and Reflections	116
REFERENCES	121
APPENDICES	130

Appendix A.....	130
Appendix B.....	132
Appendix C.....	134
VITA	

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Timeline for the Desegregation of Tulsa Public Schools 1954-1979.....	24

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problem is that there are lots and lots of school districts that are becoming more and more segregated in fact, and that school boards all over are struggling with this problem.

Justice Stephen Breyer (Meredith v. Jefferson County SBE, et al., 2006)

In the history of American education, *de facto* segregation based on economics or on race has been more the norm than the exception. The Supreme Court struck down *de facto* racial segregation in its landmark *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision. While the implementations of the *Brown* (1954) decision were slow in coming, the 1960s and the 1970s witnessed the most racially desegregated period in American educational history (Guthrie & Springer, 2004). Beginning in the early 1990s, the Supreme Court issued several decisions that began to chip away at the government's ability to eliminate racially segregated public schools. On June 28, 2007, the Court issued its decision in *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, et al.* (2007) and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* (2007) in which it declared that voluntarily assigning students to public schools based on race for the purpose of achieving racial integration was unconstitutional.

The fact the Court heard cases on the subject of desegregation in the 21st century illustrates the importance school desegregation still has in public education more than half a century after *Brown* (1954). Orfield and Lee (2007) reported that public schools in

the United States today have more than 43% non-White students, and they expect this number to grow. The Court's attitude toward the government's role in preventing school segregation has become more restrictive since the high period of the 1960s and the 1970s. Beginning in the mid 1970s, the Court began making it easier for schools to gain "unitary" status: to be declared desegregated and no longer under federal oversight (Orfield & Lee, 2006). Among the measures the Court accepted for schools to gain unitary status included creating magnet schools (Croom, 2003; Gersti-Pepin, 2002).

Schofield (1991) described the history of school desegregation as having three phases. The first of these phases, 1954-1968, began with the *Brown* decision and continued to the Supreme Court's decision in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*. During this time desegregation was the law, but rarely implemented (Schofield, 1991). With the *Green* (1968) decision, the Court entered the second phase, which lasted until 1973 when it continuously stated that the time for "all deliberate speed" had expired. As a result, during that six year period, the country witnessed the fastest and most far reaching changes in school desegregation (Orfield & Lee, 2006). Beginning in the mid 1970s, the Court entered the last phase of school desegregation with the ruling of *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Co.* (1973). The Court began to loosen its reigns on federal control as it entered this last phase in school desegregation cases.

In the 1990s with *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1990), *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell* (1991), and *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992), and most recently with *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1* (2007), resegregation of public schools was on the increase (Orfield & Lee, 2006). At the beginning of this final phase, the Court accepted the magnet school option as a legal way for schools to gain

unitary status (*Morgan v. Kerrigan*, 1976). The basic philosophy behind the program is to attract White students into Black neighborhoods by offering programs such as Baccalaureates, Padeia, and foreign language specialties (Gersti-Pepin, 2002).

Problem Statement

Wells (1995) described the intentions of *Brown* (1954) as giving “African Americans access to predominantly White institutions . . . [and to] . . . enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances” (p. 531). During the first two phases of school desegregation from 1954-1973, most demographic studies were quantitative and concentrated on educational outcomes, primarily test scores (Ballou, Goldring, & Liu, 2006; Blank, 1989; Orfield, 2004; Wolters, 2004; Yu & Taylor, 1997). The political and social pressures that pushed desegregation studies after *Brown* (1954) began to wane during the middle 1970s, just when qualitative longitudinal studies began to appear (Orfield, 2004). Because of this change in focus, a need exists for qualitative longitudinal studies focused on the intentions of *Brown* (1954) as Wells (1995) defined those intentions. There are no studies that examine the lives of African Americans 28-33 years after high school graduation to determine if attendance at a magnet school fulfills the intentions of *Brown* (1954).

Purpose of the Study

Magnet schools were attractive ways for large urban and suburban school districts to gain unitary status as part of their desegregation plans by attracting White students into the inner city schools (Rossell, 2003; Yu & Taylor, 1997). The purpose of magnet schools was to meet “constitutional or policy requirements to end racial isolation” (Yu & Taylor, 1997, p. 6). Magnet schools fell into one of two categories: 1) dedicated

magnets where all students in the school were enrolled in the magnet curriculum, and 2) schools-within-schools, where the magnet curriculum was offered in a non-magnet school (Yu & Taylor, 1997). Students who have participated in dedicated magnets or schools-within-schools have been academically successful (Ballou, Goldring, & Liu, 2006; Rossell, 2003; Yu & Taylor, 1997), but did these districts achieve the goals of *Brown* (1954)? The purpose of this study was to determine if Booker T. Washington High School (BTW), Tulsa's first magnet school, achieved the desired long-term effects of desegregation to give "African Americans access to predominantly White institutions . . . [and to] . . . enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances" (Wells, 1995, p. 531).

Research Questions

This study examined Tulsa Public Schools (TPS) and its creation of BTW as a dedicated magnet in 1973 as "the vehicle for Tulsa's school desegregation program" (Tulsa Public Schools, 1973). The purpose of desegregation was to give "African Americans access to predominantly White institutions . . . [and to] . . . enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances" (Wells, 1995, p. 531). To better understand if desegregation through this magnet school achieved the purpose of desegregation, this study used perpetuation theory as a basis for the examination of the lives of graduates of BTW before and after it became a dedicated magnet. The following questions guided the study:

1. How did participation in a magnet school affect the purpose of desegregation?
2. How did perpetuation theory inform the understanding of the desegregation phenomenon at Booker T. Washington High School?

3. How did perpetuation theory explain life experiences of graduates of Booker T. Washington High School?

Theoretical Framework

Wells & Crain's (1994) incorporation of Braddock's (1980) perpetuation theory with Granovetter's (1973) network analysis theory was the framework used to determine if Booker T. Washington High School, as a magnet school, promoted the goals of desegregation by aiding in the creation of social networks and by reducing anxieties about interracial situations. Perpetuation was based upon interactions among the races and how they maintained negative stereotypes or fostered positive ones. Network analysis was an analysis of weak and strong relationships in social mobility. Although Wells (1995) combined the two under the single phrase perpetuation theory, the components are discussed separately below for a better understanding.

Perpetuation Theory

Braddock (1980), borrowing from Pettigrew's Contact-Hypothesis Theory, developed the perpetuation framework, and explained how this applied to school segregation. Contact-hypothesis theory stated that under certain conditions, interracial contact produced positive changes in inter-group attitudes and interaction patterns. These conditions were that participants: "a) possessed equal status, b) shared common goals, c) interacted cooperatively, and d) had environmental support" (Braddock, 1980, p. 179). Braddock (1980) used the contact-hypothesis theory as a starting board for assessing long-term, behavioral outcomes of school desegregation.

Wells (1995) explained that students who choose not to attend desegregated schools when given the opportunity did it because of one of two fears: students may have

overestimated the degree of hostility they would encounter in an integrated setting, or they may have underestimated their skill in coping with interracial situations. Braddock (1980) posited that such fears may discourage Black students from attending majority White schools. Without exposure to interracial situations to debunk the mindset explained by Wells (1995), Black students who have not attended racially diverse schools have been limited in their abilities to realize the intentions of *Brown* (1954) which were to give “African Americans access to predominantly White institutions . . .[and to]. . . enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances” (Wells, 1995, p. 531). According to perpetuation theory, by changing these misperceptions about one’s abilities to cope with interracial situations, the stereotypes can be broken and perpetual racism can begin to disappear as the races began to mix.

Network Analysis Framework

Opportunities for social mobility and improving life chances can be measured by a person’s social network. Granovetter (1973) discussed the difference between strong ties, strong friendships between individuals, and weak ties, more of an acquaintance, as being the link between micro- and macro-social structures. As friendships develop on the micro-level, they increase the number of possible meetings between acquaintances, friends of a friend. Acquaintances are a key link in social mobility, the macro level, as they give people access to information they may not otherwise have. Granovetter (1973) explained this through his Tie Triad. If A and B are good friends, they have a strong tie between them. The same is true if A and C are good friends. Because B and C are both good friends with A, they must have similar qualities about them and will eventually have contact. This contact between B and C will result in a weak tie, or an acquaintance.

Because the weak ties such as that between B and C exist with other acquaintances, Granovetter (1973) stated these are more prevalent; people have more acquaintances than they do good friends, and this creates a larger network where ideas and innovations can be diffused (Whaley, 2002).

According to Granovetter (1973), the strength of a strong tie is measured by the amount of time people spend together, the emotional intensity of their interactions, how much they confide in each other, and how they depend on others. Strong ties have the potential to lead to a greater number of weak ties. As students interact in interracial settings and develop friendships - strong ties - the weak ties will follow.

The strength of these weak ties is the thrust of Granovetter's (1973) theory. Once established, the ties have the potential to endure over a lifetime. Wells (1995) explained that a person on the lowest rung of the social ladder will need these weak ties to advance upward. People on the bottom of the social ladder have relatively few weak ties and are more reliant on strong familial ties. Because these ties are predominantly with close families, they are less likely to lead to weak ties. Without contact with the larger society or with people on different rungs of the social ladder, those on the bottom tend to limit their access to outside influences. To move up the social ladder, it is important for a person to develop and use weak ties, supporting the idea that it is not as important what one knows, but who one knows (Wells & Crain, 1994). Granovetter (1973), though not in the same words, stated that "weak ties ... are here seen as indispensable to individuals' opportunities and to their integration into communities ... strong ties lead to overall fragmentation" (p. 1378).

Perpetuation theory was appropriate for the current study because it explained that segregation tends to repeat itself over a lifecycle unless something stops the cycle. Experiences in desegregated settings stop the cycle. Through desegregated settings people develop strong ties through their amount of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocal services. As the strong ties develop, outside of the family, the number of weak ties naturally increases and allow the person access to life opportunities they may not otherwise have.

Definition/Explanation of Terms

Dedicated Magnet – All students in a school are enrolled in a magnet curriculum (Yu & Taylor, 1997).

Desegregation – Refers to the physical presence of members of previously segregated groups in given social situation or institutions (Schofield, 1991).

Dual System – A system in which students are educated separately according to their race (Rossell, 1991).

Majority School – School where more than 50% of the student body is White (Orfield & Lee, 2006).

Majority to Minority Transfer – Students in a majority school are permitted to transfer to a minority school (Rossell, 1991).

Minority School – School where more than 50% of the student body is non-White (Orfield & Lee, 2006).

Minority to Majority Transfer – Students in a minority school are permitted to transfer to a majority school (Rossell, 1991).

Resegregation – Perpetual segregation in the context of a desegregated setting (Bush, 2001).

Schools-within-School – Magnet curriculum is offered in a non-magnet school (Yu & Taylor, 1997)

Segregation – A “dual” system in which a school district operates two separate systems, one Black and one White (Orfield & Eaton, 1996).

Systematic Segregation – Racially homogeneous classrooms in a significantly heterogeneous school site (Bush, 2001).

Unitary Status – Federal approval that a school district is no longer operating separate schools for Black and White students. The district is integrated (Orfield & Eaton, 1996).

Significance of Study

This study adds to the longitudinal, desegregation literature, especially in the use of magnet schools, and will aid lawmakers and school personnel as they continue to search for solutions to the problem of school desegregation. The gap in the literature on longitudinal studies involving school desegregation has been described by Orfield (2004), Wolters (2004), Wells (1995), and Schofield (1991), especially concerning the use of magnet schools to achieve desegregation (Bush, Burley & Causey-Bush, 2001; Gersti-Pepin, 2002). Lawmakers and judges will be aided in their deliberations over how to achieve desegregation. This research studied six graduates of Booker T. Washington High School in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to determine if magnet school attendance gave those graduates access to predominantly White institutions, enhanced their opportunities for social mobility, and improved their life chances.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study. Chapter II will present a review of the literature on which the research questions were based. It will also detail a history of desegregation in Tulsa Public Schools. Chapter III will present the study methods utilized in the project. Chapters IV and V will describe the data collected and the analysis of these data through the lens of the perpetuation theory framework. Chapter VI will summarize the findings of this study and suggest areas for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

To better appreciate integration at Booker T. Washington High School (BTW), it is necessary to review literature and to look at the attempts of Tulsa Public Schools (TPS) at desegregation prior to the reopening of BTW as a magnet school in Fall 1973. The literature review will cover the following areas: the history behind the Supreme Court decisions affecting school desegregation, a review of desegregation literature, a review of magnet schools, Tulsa Public School's attempts to desegregate its schools, and a review of school culture.

Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Desegregation

In its *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision, the Supreme Court ended almost 60 years of legally segregated schooling for Black and White children. However, the ruling, with the swing of a gavel, has not become the law by which all districts operate more than 50 years later. In fact, some educators argue that public education is turning back to the pre-*Brown* years and resegregating our public schools (Frankenberg & Lee, 2002). A brief history of Supreme Court decisions illustrates this point.

May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court issued two decisions ending school segregation, one for Washington, D.C., *Bolling v. Sharpe*, 1954, and the more famous

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954) affecting all 50 states. These decisions were the culmination of earlier decisions dealing with the issue of segregation and public schooling. In 1948 the Court ruled against the University of Oklahoma for denying Ada Sipuel admittance to law school based on her color (*Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma*, 1948). June 5, 1950, in two important decisions, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education et al*, and *Sweatt v. Painter et al.*, the Court ruled it unconstitutional to segregate within graduate institutions and to create separate schools for Blacks to keep the races segregated, respectively.

After *Brown* (1954), the Court issued a second decision, *Brown II* (1955), ruling that districts were expected to end the vestiges of segregation “with all deliberate speed.” Even that decision needed more interpretation as the Court began to hear cases of districts accused of avoiding the question of how to eliminate segregation. During, in the middle to late 1960s, with the Court having 5 liberal and 4 conservative justices serving from 1962-1970, new rulings began to explain in detail what school districts were expected to do (Orfield, 1996).

According to Read (1975), the period from the *Brown* (1954) decision to the middle 1960s is characterized by the lower courts’ lackluster attempts to follow the mandates in *Brown I* (1954). An example of these attempts is the case of *Briggs v. Elliott* (1955) where the district court in South Carolina interpreted the *Brown* (1954) ruling as saying the Constitution forbids discrimination, but does not require integration. This *Briggs* interpretation set the pace for southern courts for the next eight years.

In writing the Court’s opinion in *Watson v. Memphis* (1963), Justice Arthur Goldberg stated that the defense argument that it was wiser to proceed slowly and

gradually to integrate public parks and other publicly owned facilities did not work. He further stated that the time for “all deliberate speed” mentioned in *Brown II* (1955) was at hand. The Court had issued its mandate; the time to act in desegregating public schools had finally come. That same summer the Court decided, in *Goss v. Board of Education* (1963), that even though the Knoxville, Tennessee, school district had developed a plan for integration, the plan was flawed in that it offered students only the transfer option from a minority school to a majority school. The Court ruled the plan unconstitutional because it was based solely on race and did not offer the reverse, majority to minority transfers whereby a child could choose integration rather than segregation.

On May 25, 1964, the Court handed down two decisions showing it was taking a more active role in school desegregation. In *Griffin et al. v. County School Board of Prince Edward County et al.*, the justices agreed that the state cannot support private segregated schools and pay tuition to students to attend these schools with the purpose of perpetuating segregation as the driving force. Virginia had allowed this to happen after the county closed the public schools in Prince Edward County in 1959 to avoid segregation. The state then offered tuition grants to White students to attend the all White private schools in the county (Guthrie & Springer, 2004). The same day, in *Calhoun v. Latimer*, the court also questioned Atlanta’s plans to desegregate its schools because the new plan offered transfers to students in the high schools, while the elementary schools would follow a different plan that would be recognized in the future. The Court again stated that the time to act was now, and remanded the case to the District Court for a review of the elementary transfer plans with the idea that a future date for compliance was not acceptable.

In 1965, the Court issued two more important decisions in its attempt to curtail any attempts at slowing or abandoning desegregation. In *Bradley v. School Board* (1965) the Court flatly stated that “delays in desegregating school systems are no longer tolerable” (p. 103). The Court also rejected desegregation plans that did not take faculty assignment into consideration. The same ruling was reinforced a month later in *Rogers v. Paul* (1965) when the Court ruled that the desegregation plan the Fort Smith, Arkansas, School District used by desegregating one grade a year was moving too slowly and the district did not consider faculty allocation. The Court reemphasized that the time for delays was over by using some of the same language from the *Bradley* (1965) ruling.

Finally, the Fifth Circuit Court did away with the *Briggs* mentality that had served southern courts for so long in *Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School Dist.* (1965) and *United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education.* (1966). Together with these rulings and the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, all three branches of the federal government finally had the focus and the ability to enforce the now 11 year old ruling in *Brown I* (1954). These cases can be viewed as a turning point for school desegregation because the appellate court finally put the onus on the district to prove that it was really working toward desegregation and to stop putting up road blocks as excuses for delays (Read, 1975). TPS began trying to implement its own desegregation plans during the middle 1960s.

The Supreme Court handed down three decisions in 1968 illustrating the same determination the lower courts had affirmed in dropping the *Briggs* mentality: *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* (1968), *Monroe v. Board of Commissioners* (1968), and *Raney v. Board of Education* (1968). The most far reaching of these was

Green (1968) which established the Green Factors to determine compliance with desegregation: student assignment, faculty assignment, facilities, extracurricular activities, transportation, and educational opportunities (Croom, 2003; *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 1968; Guthrie & Springer, 2004). The *Green* (1968) case did more than just establish what became the Green Factors; the case also ended freedom of choice plans, as did *Raney* (1968), and ended free transfer plans, as did *Monroe* (1968).

Green (1968) began in New Kent County, Virginia, where two schools existed, one for Black students and one for White students. To comply with federal regulations, the county initiated a plan in 1965 allowing students to choose a school to attend. After three years of the plan, no White students had chosen the Black school and only 15% of the Black students had applied to the White school. In the ruling, the Court added that the school boards had the responsibility to show desegregation was being achieved, not simply to submit a plan that the boards believed would achieve desegregation in the future; the Court wanted to see results.

The following year, the Court ruled in three more cases supporting the use of the Green Factors in determining compliance with federal regulations and offering suggestions to meet the requirements. *United States v. Montgomery County Board of Education* (1969) dealt with the use of faculty ratio when the Court ruled that the faculty ratio in each school had to be the same as it was throughout the entire system. This case also marked the first time the Court used numerical data to give the lower courts and the school districts guidance in achieving desegregation (Orfield & Eaton, 2005). The Court supported this notion in a third *Singleton* (1969) decision by allowing the introduction of

faculty and other staff ratios. In *Alexander v. Holmes Board of Education* (1968) the Court introduced busing into the equation to gain unitary status, government affirmation of a desegregated system, and again declared there were to be no more delays in implementing plans (Croom, 2003; Guthrie & Springer, 2004; Read, 1975).

The last major, and unanimous, decision by the Court came in 1971 in the case of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971). The Court had a host of factors to consider in the decision; the school board had not completed its plan to ensure desegregation to the acceptance of the lower courts. The district court ordered an outside expert to create a plan, which became the Finger Plan after Dr. John Finger. Dr. Finger designed the plan to show equal percentages of races in the junior and senior high schools and to achieve this by massive busing, pairing and grouping elementary schools. The Court ruled in favor of the plan and again highlighted busing as a way to achieve unitary status (Croom, 2003; Goldring & Smrekar, 2000; Tuerk, 2005). In a lower profile case, the Court supported the decision in *Serrano v. Priest* (1971) from the California State Supreme Court that per pupil expenditures should be equal across the state.

Two years later, the Supreme Court exhibited a shift in its attentiveness to desegregation (Tuerk, 2005). The reversal of *Serrano* (1971) came in *San Antonio ISD v. Rodriguez* (1973) when the Court ruled that poor districts were not entitled to additional money from the state from property taxes.

Another ruling in 1973 marked the last major decision in the spirit of *Brown I* (1954). This case involved the Denver school system and the specific segregated area of Park Hill. The petitioners in the case filed against the district to have Park Hill desegregated, and won. Afterward, the petitioners wanted to expand their case to include

the inner city schools of Denver, and the Court had to consider the question of *de facto* segregation versus *de jure* segregation. In *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Co.* (1973) the Court ruled the district had to desegregate the inner cities, even though they were not segregated *de jure*. This marked the first time the Court made such a ruling outside the 11 former confederate states and the last time the Court made a major decision in favor of desegregation (Orfield, 2004; Read, 1975).

This shift is reflective of the Nixon administration and the new justices appointed by the conservative president. Between 1969 and 1972, President Nixon appointed four justices to the Court including Chief Justice Warren Burger who held that position from 1969-1996. With the appointment of Justice Harry Blackmun in 1970, the conservative appointments took the advantage on the bench with a 5 to 4 majority. This majority was more important as conservative appointments to the Court continued to increase so that in 1975 conservative justices outnumbered liberal justices 7 to 2. The Court has maintained the 7 to 2 conservative advantage from 1975 to the present, with the exception of 1991-1994 when the advantage grew to 8 to 1. The shift in Court decisions also affected research by scholars in the field of desegregation. A definite turning point coincides with this shift (Schofield, 1991; Wells, 1995; Wells, Crain, & Uchitelle, 1994).

The first major defeat of desegregation by the Court, and the last major decision for more than 15 years, came in 1974 in the case of *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974) involving Detroit and the school district's proposal to incorporate suburban schools in the desegregation plan. The Court ruled that there could be no interdistrict remedies for use in desegregation plans (Guthrie & Springer, 2004; Orfield, 2002; Read, 1975; Reardon & Yun, 2001).

After the *Milliken* (1974) decision, the Court did not rule on any major desegregation cases until 1991. Shortly after *Milliken*, the First District Court in Boston accepted magnet schools as an appropriate remedy for desegregation, and, as a result, the magnet program began to flourish across the country because magnet schools fulfilled the transportation factor of the Green Factors.

The first major decision for the Court in regard to resegregation came in 1990 and was a blow to the efforts of those supporting continued desegregation. The Kansas City Missouri School District wanted to increase taxes to increase revenue to support continued desegregation. The lower courts ruled such taxation legal, but the Supreme Court decided in *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1990) that it was unconstitutional to do this. In essence, the Court began to chip away at districts' responsibilities to comply with *Brown* (1954).

The following year, the Court ruled in *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell* (1991) that a return to neighborhood schools was legal even though that allowed segregated schools to return. At issue was a change in the demographics of Oklahoma City and how the district had worked toward achieving unitary status by implementing a massive busing program. After the district gained unitary status, the busing program ceased, and the return to segregated, poor neighborhood districts came into question. The Court reasoned that the district had faithfully implemented measures to ensure desegregated schools and had not intentionally recreated such schools. As a result, the end of busing was accepted by the Court.

The third case that showed a major shift from desegregation was *Freeman v. Pitts* (1992). The Court ruled that partial compliance with the Green Factors could be

accepted toward unitary status if districts met at least four of the six qualifiers (Croom, 2003). As a result of *Freeman* (1992) and the other two decisions in the early 1990s, school districts began to rely even more on magnet schools as one of the acceptable factors to gain unitary status (Goldring & Smreker, 2000).

Desegregation Literature

The literature on school desegregation mirrors the attitude of Supreme Court decisions. According to Wells (1995), two groups of research literature on school desegregation exist: a large collection of studies focused on the short-term effects of desegregation and a much smaller collection focused on the longitudinal effects of desegregation. The greatest problem with the short-term studies is that most were undertaken in the 1970s when schools were gaining unitary status and only looked at desegregation and its effect on academic achievement. These studies did not take into account racial composition of classrooms and the inter-group relations between Black and White students (Schofield, 1991). The studies were motivated by public concern and political issues of the day and were not driven by “theoretically generated . . . empirical questions” (Wells, 1995, p. 692). To placate those asking for results, the studies were primarily quantitative and typically examined test scores of schools that had gained unitary status (Wells, Crain, & Uchitelle, 1994). Echoing Schofield’s (1991) concern, Wells (1995) also pointed out that the early studies did not take into consideration the racial composition of individual classrooms, only school buildings overall (p. 694). She also stressed the importance of studying the inter-group relations among the students and how these relations can have positive or negative effects on their later lives.

The two groups of literature on desegregation correspond to the history of Supreme Court decisions. As the Court shifted its interpretation of *Brown* (1954) from desegregation to integration, the focus of the literature also began to shift. For the first 25 years after *Brown* (1954), the focus was on the relationship between desegregation and academic achievement. Change occurred in the middle 1970s with a greater focus on the relationship of desegregation and intergroup relations (Braddock, 1980; Schofield, 1991). The focus on desegregation as a variable also began to change to integration with more interest in racial mixing and its contributions to developing relationships between the races (Schofield, 1991).

The longitudinal studies that began to develop during the middle 1970s quickly began to wane as the federal government assumed a more passive role in desegregation (Orfield, 2004). The result has created a need for longitudinal studies based on integration and positive outcomes (Wolters, 2004). Wells (1995) claimed that to assess the impact of desegregation on the status attained by Blacks later in life, researchers need to concentrate more on the long-term social and economic outcomes of desegregation.

Magnet Schools

The purpose of magnet schools is to meet “constitutional or policy requirements to end racial isolation” (Yu & Taylor, 1997, p. 6). Today, more than half of the large urban school districts in the country have magnet schools as compared to only 10% of rural school districts (Yu & Taylor, 1997). The basic philosophy behind the creation of magnet schools was to offer such programs as Baccalaureates, Padeia, and foreign languages to attract White students into Black neighborhoods (Gersti-Pepin, 2002). Magnet schools gained popularity in the 1970s as ways to achieve desegregation.

Magnet schools were an alternative to reassignment and busing and usually managed to ensure racial balance (Goldring & Smrekar, 2000; Rossell, 2003). The courts accepted magnet schools as a method of desegregation in *Morgan v. Kerrigan* (1976).

Recent research deals with the effectiveness of using magnet schools to achieve desegregation (Bush, Burley, & Causey-Bush, 2001; Gersti-Pepin, 2002; Goldring & Smrekar, 2000; Rossell, 2003). Rossell (2003) contended that using magnet schools is no more than a voluntary plan of desegregation without magnets. In discussing the history of magnet programs, she looked at the date schools implemented the programs and compared that date to the type of desegregation program: voluntary, mandatory without magnets, and mandatory with magnets. She concluded the median for implementing the magnet programs of 600 school districts still using the programs was: 1970 for voluntary and mandatory plans without magnets, 1975 for mandatory plans with magnets, and 1978 for voluntary plans with magnets. This fits with previously discussed court cases and shows that districts adopted the plans in the middle 1970s as a way to gain unitary status.

Rossell (2003) advanced the discussion when she suggested that magnet schools created a market-like atmosphere in education where the pursuit of self-interest is consistent with the public interest. This shift in thought corresponds to the increase in conservative appointments to the Supreme Court and illustrates the shift in education from federally regulated desegregation to a magnet market laissez-faire approach to the issue. This interpretation is also supported by Orfield (2004).

Rossell (2003) pointed out that the type of magnet program a district uses is important. In some instances, the entire student body of a particular school is drawn from across the district. These programs are usually located in the poorer, more segregated

parts of the district with the hope of bringing White students into the area, the dedicated magnets (Yu & Taylor, 1997). In some instances, small portions of the student body in a school are part of the magnet program and they may be from the local attendance zone or from across the district, schools-within-schools (Yu & Taylor, 1997).

Gersti-Pepin (2002) stated, “. . . Magnet schools do achieve a cosmetic and, thus, superficial diversity [although] they are not a panacea for improving the quality of education for all students within a school’s site” (p. 53). She was discussing partial student participation in programs and the fact that students have to be involved to enjoy the benefits that a magnet program could offer beyond academia. Continuing, she stated there is little, and needs to be more, research about how successful magnet schools are in mixing the races. Bush, Burley, and Causey-Bush (2001) concluded that to determine the effectiveness of magnet programs in achieving desegregation, researchers must investigate the experiences of the students.

Finally, Goldring and Smrekar (2000) are somewhat an exception to the previous articles because their study shows the effectiveness of magnet school programs. They pointed to Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Montclair, New Jersey, and New York as examples of successfully implemented magnet programs with the remainder of the district and the non-participating schools remaining racially balanced. Their findings, when combined with the other research on magnet schools, raises the question of the purpose of the magnet program: if the purpose of the program is to have the different races attending school in the same building, then once the mixing occurs, can the programs be considered successful? The longitudinal effects of the program need to be assessed to see if mixing the races is successful. This will be evident through a study of life cycles and

opportunities of those who experienced segregated school settings compared to those who experienced magnet school settings. This is where the current research is focused.

Tulsa Public Schools

Like most southern school districts, TPS' response to *Brown* (1954) was hesitant at best. The District did not come forth with a plan for desegregation until after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (see Table 1). This legislation afforded the Justice Department the authority to litigate against public school districts that practiced segregation. Tulsa Public Schools operated six *de jure* schools for the purpose of racial segregation: Bunche, Dunbar, Johnson, and Woods elementary schools, Carver Junior High, and Booker T. Washington Senior High. During the early 1970s, demographic changes added five other elementary schools to the list of predominantly Black schools: Whitman, Emerson, Burroughs, Frost, and Hawthorne (*US v. BOE of Ind. School Dist. #1 of Tulsa County, Oklahoma et. al.*, 1983).

As a result of litigation in 1968, TPS submitted a new plan to the district court which called for integration of the *de jure* elementary schools, but not the *de facto* elementary schools. The city witnessed high racial tensions during the early 1970s as a result of the new plan and the rising segregation in the *de facto* schools which the plan did not cover (Goodwin, 1970a; Goodwin, 1969). As a result of this, several citizens organized campaigns to offer solutions to the school board to include all the segregated schools in the District's plans (Goodwin, 1970b; Goodwin, 1969; H.J. Green, personal communication, March 22, 2008; J. Pegues, personal communication, March 27, 2008; Jeffrey, 1971; N. McDonald, personal communication, March 17, 2008; R. Lewis, personal communication, February 8, 2008).

Table 1

1954	US Supreme Court issued decision in <i>Brown v. BOE, Topeka, Kansas</i> TPS operated 6 "separate" schools for Black students, staffed by Black teachers: Bunche, Dunbar, Johnson, and Woods Elementary Schools, Carver Junior High School, and Washington Senior High School.
1964	Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 giving the Justice Department the authority to enforce desegregation orders.
August 31, 1965	TPS presented its plan for desegregation to the federal government.
Feb. 17-18, 1969	The United States sued TPS on charges of racial discrimination. The District Court ruled in favor of TPS.
July 28, 1970	Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the lower court decision in favor of the government and stated TPS had to create an effective plan for desegregation.
July 23, 1971	District Court accepted new plans from TPS for desegregation.
July 27-28, 1971	District Court decided in favor of TPS' plans to desegregate only Woods, Dunbar, Johnson, and Bunche elementary schools because of their <i>de jure</i> status.
September 1971	TPS opened Burroughs Little School.
May 5, 1972	Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals confirmed the courts had no jurisdiction in the <i>de facto</i> elementary schools of Burroughs, Frost, Hawthorne, and Whitman.
August 1972	Judge Daugharty ordered desegregation of Carver Junior High. TPS closed Carver and bused students across Tulsa.
September 1972	Creation of Carver Freedom School.
September 1972	Plan presented to the TPS school board to reopen Carver Junior High as a voluntary desegregated magnet school.
Spring 1973	Judge Daugharty ordered the desegregation of BTW
June 1973	BTW closed as an all-Black school.
June 21, 1973	Supreme Court issued <i>Keyes</i> decision.
September 1973	BTW reopened as a voluntary desegregated magnet high school.
April 24, 1975	District Court accepted plan to construct a new Emerson Elementary School as a magnet school by closing Emerson and Johnson elementary schools.
October 16, 1979	District Court accepted plan to 1) Divide Roosevelt Junior High School attendance area between Madison and Wilson Junior High Schools to give each of them a percentage of Black students representative of the Black student population in TPS. 2) Close Pershing Elementary School. 3) Expand the magnet program at Burroughs Elementary to a magnet school. 4) Institute a science magnet program at Frost Elementary with before and after school programs. 5) Institute a gifted magnet program at Whitman Elementary School.

(Tulsa Public Schools, 1979)

While the District implemented plans to desegregate the *de jure* schools, the citizen group began plans to desegregate the *de facto* schools. TPS' first attempt at desegregation was to integrate Burroughs Elementary School. In 1971 TPS opened Burroughs Little School, thanks to the efforts of Nancy McDonald, with international news coverage of White students voluntarily riding buses to the north side of Tulsa to attend elementary school (N. McDonald, personal communication, March 17, 2008). Simultaneously, while there was wide support for Burroughs Little School, a former

all-Black school, District Court Judge Fred Daugharty ordered the desegregation of Carver Junior High School in 1972. To achieve this desegregation, the District closed the school and bused the students across the city to the various “White” junior high schools (H.J. Green, personal communication, March 22, 2008; J. Pegues, personal communication, March 27, 2008; N. McDonald, personal communication, March 17, 2008). In response to the closing of Carver, Julius Pegues, a leader in the Black community, led citizens of Tulsa’s north side to open the Carver Freedom School. J. Pegues and the north Tulsa community operated the school out of a local church with community funding for the purpose of keeping local students in the neighborhood (Ganstine & Jeffrey, 1971; Goodwin, 1971a; Goodwin 1971b; J. Pegues, personal communication, March 27, 2008).

Because of the success of the Burroughs Little School and the Carver Freedom School, and the desire to improve the school district as a whole, Nancy McDonald and Julius Pegues collaborated on a plan to reopen Carver Junior High School on a voluntary integrated basis. The pair worked during the fall of 1972 to gain community support for the plan which they presented to the TPS board in early 1973, and the board subsequently accepted. They wanted to bring an innovative curriculum to the school and community involvement to attract White students to attend Carver, as had occurred at Burroughs Little School (Pegues, personal communication, March 27, 2008; N. McDonald, personal communication, March 17, 2008J.). Carver Junior High opened in the fall of 1973 as a voluntary desegregated school (Mays, 1972).

After the board accepted plans for Carver in the spring of 1973, Judge Daugharty informed TPS it must desegregate BTW by the fall of 1973. With support from H.J.

Green, Bruce Howell, and Roy Lewis, McDonald and Pegues once again spearheaded the efforts to bring White students to BTW (Landholt, 1973a; Landholt, 1973b). After a summer of working across the city, the group helped to open BTW with a 50/50 ratio of Black to White students (Landholt, 1973c; Landhold, 1974d).

Federal courts later ruled the District not responsible for the *de facto* segregation, but reversed this decision in light of the Supreme Court ruling in *Keyes* (1973). While these details are not pertinent to this study, they are reflected in Table 1.

School Culture

School culture is difficult to define. In the work dealing with colleges and universities, Kuh and Whitt (1988) discussed the surface differences at universities. They quoted Van Maanen, “To understand why faculty and students think and behave the ways they do, we must first describe and appreciate their culture” (p. 1). They based their definition on Schein’s (1985) work in his study of organizational culture. Schein (1985) stated:

Culture is defined as:

1. A pattern of shared basic assumptions,
2. invented, discovered, or developed by a given group,
3. as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration,
4. that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and, therefore,
5. is taught to new members of the group as the
6. correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. (p. 247)

In creating this definition, Schein (1985) relied on three broad levels of organizational culture: artifacts, values, and underlying assumptions (p. 252). Kuh and Whitt (1988) incorporated these terms in their definition of culture:

Culture is defined as the collective, mutually shaping patterns of institutional history, mission, physical settings, norms, traditions, practices, and beliefs that influence the behavior of individuals and groups and provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions on and off campus.
(p. 663)

Kuh and Whitt (1988) used Schein's (1985) definition of organizational culture and applied it to colleges and universities. The logic behind their decision lay in their reasoning that colleges and universities are not rational organizations. Colleges and universities want to survive as does any other organization. According to Kuh and Whitt (1988), a cultural perspective can be used to study how "the consequences of institutional responses to turbulent, uncertain conditions can be anticipated, understood, even managed" (p. 2).

The headstone of Schein's (1985) definition is "a pattern of shared basic assumptions" (p. 248). This is the "core" of what defines the culture of a school. He stated that any new organization, in this process BTW, the "founder[s] of the new group start with some beliefs, values, and assumptions about how to proceed and teach those to new members through a whole variety of mechanisms" (p. 249). He finished the explanation of his definition by stating that organizations make different assumptions about the different aspects of reality and thus influence thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of those involved in the organization.

Chaffee and Tierney (1988) conducted a case study of seven college campuses to “understand the dynamics of culture and its influence on institutional performance” (p. 3). Like Schein (1985) and Kuh and Whitt (1988), Chaffee and Tierney (1988) stressed the importance of symbols and history in their working definition of culture at the colleges, but they also stressed the important role of leadership in preserving these traditions. Chaffee and Tierney (1988) stated “administrators tend to recognize their organization’s culture only when they have transgressed its bounds and severe conflicts or adverse relationships ensue” (p. 8). In other words, the administrator understands the cultural dynamics of the school and has embraced them. By doing this, Chaffee and Tierney (1988) posited administrators can “articulate decisions in a way that will speak to the needs of various constituencies and marshal their support” (p. 8).

Austin (1990) looked specifically at faculty culture when she discussed values and concepts important to the culture of the academic profession. Among these were the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge and understanding, academic freedom in teaching, and collegiality. She stated the culture of the organization is based on two assumptions. They are that colleges and universities are involved in “good work” through the production of knowledge for society and the development of students, and by a commitment to “collegiality coupled with autonomy” in the work place (p. 65).

While these studies concentrated on culture in higher education settings, the important aspects they defined and applied are applicable to the study of BTW and the success generated there. The district sought acceptance of the school from both the Black and White communities. This acceptance was given, in part, because of the leadership in H.J. Green and the academic freedom the faculty had to create their own curriculum. The

struggle for survival when the school opened, the leadership of a strong principal, and the academic freedom of the faculty all apply to this study.

Limitations of the Literature

A large amount of literature appearing in the 1960s and 1970s gave way to a drought which lasted into the middle 1990s. Most of the early desegregation literature concerned the relationship between desegregation and academic achievement (Schofield, 1991; Wells, 1995). With the relaxation of government oversight in desegregation from court decisions, this early literature waned considerably after the 1970s.

The rise in magnet programs during the 1970s encouraged new literature to emerge concerning desegregation beginning in the 1990s. Because of the focus shift in the literature on desegregation from one of desegregating the schools to one of integrating the races, the literature that began to appear in the 1990s looked at the long-term effects of the desegregation programs across the country. Wolters (2004) and Wells (1995) agreed that to assess the impact of desegregation on the status attained by Blacks later in life, researchers need to concentrate more on longitudinal studies that take into account the social and economic outcomes of desegregation.

The literature concerning magnet schools clearly shows that, for academic purposes, the magnet programs are generally successful (Goldring & Smrekar, 2000). If that were the purpose of the magnet program, then a congratulatory celebration is in order and researchers need to find ways to expand the magnet experience to all students. But magnet programs achieve desegregation by bringing White students back into the inner cities their families fled (Rossell, 2003). In this instance, researchers are calling for more research on the use of magnet schools, the experiences of students involved, and how

well the races continue to stay mixed, or at least tolerant of others (Bush, Burley, & Causey-Bush, 2001; Gersti-Pepin, 2002). Indicators of successful higher education institutions show that strong leadership, academic freedom, and a commitment to preserving traditions are key elements to their success (Austin, 1990; Chafee & Tierney, 1988; Kuh, 1993; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Schein, 1985).

The current study added to the literature where other researchers have noted a need for work. It looked at the long-term effectiveness of a magnet program and how it has contributed to breaking down racial barriers. The study was conducted using theories developed by Braddock (1980) and Granovetter (1973) and examined the lives of graduates from BTW to assess the long-term impact of attendance at a desegregated magnet school 28 to 33 years after they attended. I accomplished this through interviews seeking rich descriptions of the graduates' lives since they graduated from high school.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This qualitative case study used Braddock's (1980) perpetuation theory to determine if one magnet school achieved the longitudinal goals of magnet schools. It is a study of African American graduates from Booker T. Washington High School (BTW) between the years 1975-1980. BTW originally opened in 1913 as Tulsa Public School's (TPS) designated all-Black high school. It reopened in 1973 as Tulsa's first magnet school and as part of the district's desegregation plans.

This study used qualitative methods that were particularly useful for capturing differences among people and programs (Patton, 2002). The qualitative approach was most appropriate because it allowed me to explore the various meanings of individual experiences. According to Creswell (2003), these meanings were "socially and historically constructed with the intent of developing a theory or pattern" (p. 18). The interviews of the graduates captured these individual experiences. According to Ruspini (2002) there are different qualitative longitudinal designs. The most common are:

- repeated cross-sectional studies – with the use of trend data with a new sample or largely new.
- prospective longitudinal studies – panel data where the same subjects are interviewed over a period of time, and

- retrospective longitudinal studies – event history or duration data where interviewees are asked to remember, and reconstruct, events and aspects of their own life-courses (3).

Ruspini's (2002) use of the term longitudinal study was used for the purpose of this study.

Qualitative implies that the data collected were in the form of words rather than numbers (Rudestam & Newton, 2001). It was also one in which I sought a psychologically rich understanding of the participants. Of the qualitative approaches discussed by Cresswell (2003), case study approach was judged the most appropriate for this study. The case in this study is the life experiences of a sampling of graduates from BTW between the years 1975-1980. The case is bounded in time and activity – for this study, that being institution (Cresswell, p. 13). Yin (1994) stressed the importance of research questions in determining the strategy to use in qualitative research. The research questions I have developed all ask “how” to which Yin states the case study “has a distinct advantage” (p. 9).

According to Cresswell (2003), in a case study “the researcher explores in depth . . . one or more individuals” (p. 15). Patton (2002) stated the same thing when he discussed themes of qualitative inquiry and stated that case studies were appropriate with a design strategy that was a purposeful sampling. He stated, “Cases for study are selected because they are ‘information rich’ and illuminative, that is, they offer useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest (p. 40).

Participants

The participants were a purposive sampling that comprised two groups of interviewees. I chose a purposive sampling because I wanted the emphasis on “an in-depth understanding” of the creation of BTW, and the longitudinal effects of being an African-American graduating from a desegregated magnet school (Patton, p. 46). Former administrators and community leaders who helped establish BTW as a magnet school comprised the first group: the superintendent of TPS during the time frame of the study, the director of senior high schools for the TPS, BTW’s principal from 1973-1981, the leaders of the Black community the White community who sought the creation of the magnet school. This first group of interviewees was identified by two of my friends who had worked in the district and were familiar with the subject and people involved. The interviews occurred at places convenient to those interviewed. Questions for this group centered on their recollections of the climate at BTW, perceptions of change before and after the school became a magnet school, and their overall thoughts on the success of using BTW as a magnet school to aid in desegregating the district.

The second group consisted of six African Americans who graduated from BTW from 1975-1980: three from the class of 1975, one from the class of 1978, and two from the class of 1980. All of the graduates attended BTW for at least two years. I found these graduates by advertising for participants for this study on the BTW alumni website and subsequent contacts, and from interviews with those involved in the creation of BTW as a magnet school. These graduates were interviewed from one half to two hours at a place convenient to them. Questions asked of the graduates centered on their

recollections of the climate at BTW, friends, family backgrounds, career goals, and lives since graduation.

Data Collection

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) granted approval for the study on January 15, 2008. Interview data were collected over a seven month period from February to August, 2008. I also collected documents, (e.g., legal briefs explaining the development of the desegregation plan and newspaper clippings of events surrounding the district and BTW), and gathered material (e.g., yearbooks and school newspapers) pertinent to BTW itself from local libraries and former students. Audio material consisted of oral arguments from TPS court cases in the research. I maintained a personal journal of observations throughout the study.

Initially, I conducted a pre-ethnographic study with a graduate of BTW for the purpose of honing the interview questions (Yin, 1994). Then, I conducted interviews with graduates from BTW, former administrators, and community leaders from the district to discover their opinions of the effectiveness of the magnet program used as a tool for desegregation.

I arranged interviews *via* advertisements on the BTW Alumni Association's webpage at <http://www.btwhs.org/>, and through personal contacts. All interviews consisted of an introduction of me, an explanation of the research, presentation and explanation of the consent form, and four to six general questions interspersed with probing questions based on comments made from general questions.

I went through the same procedures with all interviews regarding the informed consent form, with one exception. I explained the purpose of the study and asked each if

they had any questions. Afterward, I presented each with a copy of the informed consent document and went through each section with them. The informed consent document contained my contact information and contact information for Dr. Sheila Kennison and the IRB office at Oklahoma State University. I have maintained the signed informed consent documents with my notes from each interview. I followed the appropriate protocol with those associated with the creation of BTW (see appendix A) and the graduates of BTW (see appendix B).

I did not change school names or participant names in the study because of the nature of this study. All interviewees were informed of this fact through the consent form. Interviews occurred in public places or the most convenient place for the interviewees. For the purpose of cross-checking, I tape-recorded and transcribed the interviews, with one exception, then contacted the interviewees a second time and provided them with either a transcription of the first interview or a brief discussion of the first interview for clarity. The second contact occurred over the phone or *via* the internet.

Group I: Associates of BTW High School

Questions involving those associated with the creation of BTW as a magnet school revolved around the role the interviewee played in the creation of the magnet high school, the racial make-up of the school, any racial attitude changes brought about by the magnet high school within the school and the district, the purpose behind the magnet high school, and the perceptions of the interviewee on the success of the magnet high school in promoting integration. I conducted interviews with the following people involved in the creation of the magnet school: the TPS superintendent, the TPS director of high schools,

the BTW principal, the leaders of the north Tulsa Black community and the district's White community.

Interview 1: Bruce Howell.

Bruce Howell served two terms as superintendent of TPS. He moved to Tulsa in 1969 to become assistant superintendent and worked in that position until the district promoted him to superintendent in 1973. In 1977, Howell moved to the University of Tulsa to become the dean of the school of education. TPS rehired Howell in 1990 as superintendent from which position he retired four years later. I encountered Howell at the 2008 Oklahoma State Department of Education Summer Leadership Conference in Oklahoma City. We briefly discussed this study, and I asked Howell if he would be willing to sit for an interview; Howell agreed.

Because of scheduling conflicts, we did not meet for the interview until August 19, 2008, at which time I drove to Howell's home on Grand Lake in Oklahoma. The interview was very informal as Howell toured me around part of the lake as we discussed the study. I explained the study to Howell and the direction in which the study appeared to be going. I explained to him the nature of the questions for associates of BTW to which he said he could give some information.

The interview lasted for almost one and a half hours while Howell drove me around Grand Lake. At the end of this very cordial meeting, Howell stated he would be glad to offer any follow-up information needed. The interview was not transcribed as the informal nature of the interview did not lend to that. I asked all of the questions for associates (see Appendix A) as indicated in the protocol. No notes were taken during the interview, though I recorded notes after the interview ended.

Interview 2: Roy Lewis.

Roy Lewis served as Director of Senior High Schools for TPS during the 1970s and worked 40 years in the district. I learned of Lewis from earlier conversations with H.J. Green, when Green gave me Lewis' contact information. I called Lewis on February 6, 2008, explained who I was, what I was doing, and that I would like to visit with Lewis regarding his role in the creation of BTW as a magnet school to hear his perceptions on its initial progress. Lewis invited me to visit him at his home in Tulsa for the interview.

The interview with Roy Lewis occurred two days later at his home in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He and I sat at the dining room table where I had freedom to write and make notes if needed. The interview lasted almost 50 minutes and Lewis appeared extremely cordial during the whole process and, after the interview, invited me to contact him if any questions arose after analysis of the interview. There was nobody else in the house and there was nothing to distract the two of us from our conversation.

Interview 3: H.J.. Green.

H.J. Green became the principal of BTW in 1973, the first year the school reopened as a magnet school, he continued serving in that capacity until 1981. Dr. Ken Stern, my dissertation advisor, first made me aware that Green was involved in TPS during the time of the study. Stern commented that Green had left TPS and worked a short time for the Oklahoma Secondary Schools Activities Association (OSSAA) before moving to California. I contacted a friend who worked for OSSAA and inquired about Green. The friend confirmed what Stern had told me, that Green had moved to California and had worked in the San Diego area, but he did not know more.

I conducted a search on the internet with H.J. Green and the San Diego Public Schools and found that Green was working as the Executive Director in the Office of Secondary School Innovation. I called Green's office and spoke to Green's secretary who connected me with Green on February 5, 2008.

My first conversation with Green was very pleasant. Green agreed to participate in the study and told me that he frequently returned to Tulsa as he still owned a home there. Green agreed to meet with me if I made it to San Diego before he returned to Tulsa, in fact telling me that he would clear his schedule to make time to visit. He then told me of others involved in the creation of BTW as a magnet school and indicated they would be rich sources of information. He mentioned Roy Lewis, Director of High Schools for TPS at the time, Nancy McDonald, a parent and leader of the White community in the creation of BTW as a magnet school, and Julius Pegues, a parent and leader of the Black community in the creation of BTW as a magnet school. Green said that he planned to make the return to Oklahoma in the middle of March, and I told him that I would attempt to interview those he had mentioned and wait until he was in Tulsa to conduct our interview.

The interview with H.J. Green occurred on March 22, 2008, at his home in Tulsa, Oklahoma. I arrived at Green's home at 1:00 p.m., and the two of us sat in Green's den for the interview which lasted 50 minutes. The NCAA men's basketball tournament was in its second round games, and Green had been watching one of the games on his television. The den was very comfortable and decorated with sports memorabilia from two dominant sources: Oklahoma State University and the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team.

Interview 4: Julius Pegues.

Julius Pegues lived and worked in north Tulsa for most of his life. His parents, he and his wife, and four of his five children all graduated from BTW. J. Pegues later earned a master's degree from the University of Pittsburgh, and his wife earned a doctor of education degree from the University of Tulsa. J. Pegues emerged as a leader in the Black community in the late 1960s when federal courts ordered TPS to desegregate its schools. Since that time, he had always worked closely with BTW to maintain its rich heritage.

I first heard of J. Pegues from conversations with H.J. Green, Roy Lewis, and Nancy McDonald. Lewis gave me J. Pegues' phone number and told me that I had to interview J. Pegues for this study. I called and spoke to Mrs. Pegues and explained the study. She said that he was out and that he would return soon. She stated that I could talk to him later, and that he would be interested in the study. I called a day or two later and spoke to J. Pegues; we established an appointment for March 27, 2008, in the Chamber of Commerce in the Greenwood District of north Tulsa.

The interview took place at 3:30 p.m., in a conference room on the second floor of the Greenwood Chamber of Commerce. Two employees worked in the outer office, but we he two had the conference room to ourselves as we sat at the end of a large conference table. The interview lasted approximately one hour.

Interview 5: Nancy McDonald.

Nancy McDonald was involved with TPS for 15 years after the desegregation of BTW. She developed the adopt-a-school program with her efforts at Burroughs Little School, which brought community into the schools by garnering support from local

businesses, community leaders, and parents. Her ideas on adopt-a-school later became the basis of the national program. I first heard of McDonald from a personal friend who was associated with TPS during the time frame of this study. H.J. Green and Roy Lewis also told me this study would not be complete without interviewing McDonald.

I did not make contact with McDonald on the initial phone call. I left a message on her answering machine telling her who I was, how I heard of her, and what I would like to discuss with her. I called her two days later, spoke to her and discussed the study. She told me that she would be glad to visit with me. She explained that any story about BTW would have to start earlier than 1973 and that she would discuss that with me. We agreed on an appointment for March 17, 2008, at 1:30 p.m.

I arrived at McDonald's home in Tulsa, Oklahoma, at 1:30 p.m., on the day of the interview. She welcomed me into her den where I sat on a chair, and she sat on a small, adjacent sofa. She had been baking during the afternoon, and her husband was home in a different part of the house. The interview lasted almost one hour and 15 minutes. We had no interruptions during the interview and there were no distractions such as television. After the interview McDonald loaned me several documents still in her possession concerning the creation of the magnet school. These documents included pamphlets they distributed to the White students interested in applying to BTW and also TPS publications concerning desegregation.

Group II: Graduates of BTW High School

Questions that involved the graduates of BTW revolved around the interviewee's overall experience at the magnet high school, friends during high school, the career goals in high school and if those came to fruition, family background, influential people during

high school, and knowledge, at the time, of the purpose for the creation of the magnet high school.

Interview 1: Gregory Goodwin.

I became aware of Gregory Goodwin through feedback from Carlye Jimerson, another graduate in the study. Jimerson commented that Goodwin would be a good addition to the study because he was a leader during the initial years of the magnet school. I contacted Goodwin by phone and explained the study. Goodwin stated he would be willing to help in the study. We established an initial date, but later changed the interview date to June 23, 2008.

I traveled to Stone Mountain, Georgia, for the interview with Goodwin where he served as the high school principal at Redan High School. The 45 minute interview took place in his office with no interruptions.

Interview 2: Carlye O. Jimerson.

Jimerson contacted me by email in the early part of February, 2008. Jimerson had a cousin who saw the advertisement I had placed on the BTW Alumni Website and commented to Jimerson that she had been a part of the group wanted for the study and that she may want to participate. This prompted her email to me. I called Jimerson, and we made an appointment to meet in downtown Tulsa at 4:00 p.m., on the afternoon of February 11, 2008.

The interview lasted approximately 35 minutes. Because Jimerson worked in a downtown law firm, we met in one of the conference rooms of the firm. No one else was in the small room, and we were not interrupted in any way.

Interview 3: Vee Sutton Price.

Price contacted me by email stating that she had received an email from her cousin who knew that she had attended BTW during the years mentioned in the study. Price gave her phone number in the email, and I called and spoke to her on the phone about the study. She informed me that she had been part of a small group of BTW students who visited the high schools in the district. Price mentioned that she now lived in Houston and I agreed to visit her March 19, 2008 at 10:00 a.m.

Price met me in the lobby of a hotel in north Houston for an interview that lasted almost two hours, with one hour taped and another hour visiting and looking at old yearbooks. Although the lobby was small, we were the only two people in the lobby most of the time.

Interview 4: Kevin Williams.

Kevin Williams first made contact with me through an email in response to an advertisement I placed on the BTW Alumni Website. Williams told me he had received an email from a friend stating the purpose of the study and soliciting interviews. Williams called me, and I explained the study. We agreed to meet at the Kendal-Whittier Library in Tulsa at 11:00 a.m., Saturday, June 21, 2008.

I arrived at Kendal-Whittier shortly before the appointed time. The library was small. A few students were working on computers near the front door. I sat near the rear of the library in front of a large window. Six large tables stretched across the room to the other side of the library and another large window. Williams arrived promptly, and we greeted each other near the front door. Even though there were a few students working

on computers and patrons walking around, we had no interruptions during the interview that lasted approximately one hour.

Interview 5: Stephen Broussard.

Nancy McDonald and Julius Pegues told me that Stephen Broussard was a lawyer in Tulsa and a BTW graduate who would be able to offer a good perspective to the study. I used the internet, contacted Broussard's office and left a message. I later called the office again and spoke to Broussard, explaining how I came to know who he was. I explained the study and asked Broussard if he would be interested and willing to participate, to which Broussard said yes. We established an interview at 11:30 a.m., May 30, 2008, in Broussard's downtown Tulsa law office.

I arrived at Broussard's office on the appointed date and time, and we met for approximately 45 minutes in a meeting room. We were the only two present, and there were no distractions during the interview.

Interview 6: Michael Pegues.

I learned of Michael Pegues from the interview with Julius Pegues, Michael Pegues' father. J. Pegues told me his son had graduated from BTW in 1980 and currently worked in Dallas, Texas, as a lawyer. I asked if J. Pegues thought his son would be willing to sit for an interview; J. Pegues gave me information to contact M. Pegues. He commented that his son would be accepting of an interview.

I called and left a message for M. Pegues in early April 2008. When M. Pegues returned the call, I explained the study and asked if he would be interested in participating. M. Pegues agreed, and we established a meeting time of 4:00 p.m., in

Dallas, Texas. Upon arriving in Dallas, I placed a call to M. Pegues, who invited me to his house for the interview.

I arrived at 4:00 and M. Pegues welcomed him at the door. We sat in the den of Pegues' home in north Dallas. M. Pegues' wife and two children were at home. It was a warm, sunny, Sunday afternoon and the family had been practicing sports earlier in the day. The interview lasted a little over 50 minutes with a little visitation afterward. Although Pegues' family was in the house, there were no distractions during the interview.

I maintained all data in a locked file cabinet at his personal residence during the study. The interview data were stored on CDR/W discs along with hard copies of the transcriptions. For the purpose of an IRB audit, the information must be kept for a period of three years. The final audio recordings and transcripts were deposited with the oral history collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Data Analysis

I analyzed the data for aspects of Braddock's (1980) perpetuation theory. Discoveries made during the initial analysis centered on emerging themes, and theoretical implications guided subsequent interviews.

Data analysis involved preparation, deep understanding, representation, and interpretation of the larger meaning of the data (Creswell, 2003). The analysis of qualitative data involved creativity, intellectual discipline, and analytical rigor (Patton, 2002). In this qualitative research, I sought for emergent rather than tightly figured themes (Creswell, 2003). I used an inductive approach whereby specific observations

moved toward the development of general patterns that emerged from the case study (Patton, 2002; Rudestam & Newton, 2001).

Triangulation through the use of a variety of data sources allowed me to capture and report multiple perspectives rather than seek a singular truth (Patton, 2002). This triangulation consisted, in part, of studying news articles and court records surrounding the development of BTW as a magnet school and then searching for support in interviews. Through a combination of observations, interviewing, document analysis, and audio analysis, different data sources were employed to validate and cross-check findings (Patton, 2002).

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in qualitative research addresses the reliability which allows the replication of the study under similar circumstances and internal and external validity of the data collected (Rudestam, 2001). To promote reliability, I coded interviews and then arranged the codes for emergent themes. I did this by using perpetuation theory as a beginning point to search for interview quotes supporting the theory. I coded the interviews by highlighting any quotes that involved perpetuation theory. After the coding was complete, I then organized the quotes in groups to search for emergent themes. I used these themes in the analysis of the data.

Internal validity ensured that what was gathered from the interviews was truly what the interviewee wanted to convey (Rudestam, 2001). To promote internal validity, I transcribed the interviews then contacted the interviewees *via* email to help establish credibility. I sent each interviewee a three to five page summary of the interview and told them I would use the summaries when writing the dissertation. Not all of the

interviewees returned the summaries while those that did only had minor corrections which I subsequently made.

The information gleaned from the interviews after coding was triangulated with documents and audio material to ensure internal validity. External validity in a qualitative study relies on the fact that “thick descriptions” offered by a few participants can be transferred to a population beyond the study (Rudestam, 2001).

To ensure that all of these aspects of trustworthiness were present throughout the study, I had peer reviews of the study along the way with another doctoral candidate and with the dissertation advisor to help establish dependability of the instrumentation.

Role of the Researcher

Particularly in qualitative research, the role of the researcher as the primary data collection instrument necessitates the identification of personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study (Creswell, 2003). Patton (2002), stated that “the human factor is the great strength and the fundamental weakness of qualitative inquiry and analysis” (p. 433). Knowing this, I recognized that my perceptions of desegregation and racism have been shaped by my personal experiences.

I taught and served as an administrator for 14 years in three school districts. These districts were in rural settings with no more than one percent of the students being non-White other than Native American. I believed that many of these students were intolerant of other races because of their isolation from them. I witnessed students speaking racial epithets in class and tried to break down barriers through teaching, especially in classes such as American History. A favorite topic of mine to discuss in American History was the Civil Rights Movement. In this class, I taught the

government's role was as one to protect those who were unable to protect themselves. I taught that passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were examples of the government's efforts to protect citizens. This, in part, led me to choose a topic along these lines to investigate for graduate work.

I also have a niece and two nephews who are half White and half Black. Over the years I watched these children struggle with their identity, especially in their schools. My niece, who attended a 90% Black school, chose to drop out of school and obtain her GED instead of facing the ridicule from Black students because she was only half Black.

As a researcher, I was aware of the occurrence of racial injustices and that, at times, White students have been intolerant of Black students and vice versa. I was also aware of my perceptions of the role of government and how this affected the ways I interpreted events. I attempted to ensure objectivity when collecting and interpreting data by asking open ended questions during interviews and allowing the interviewee to relate events as they remembered them.

The topics discussed could have caused much anxiety. My goal was not to solve the problems posited, but merely to observe, collect, analyze, and report the data found. I hope in doing this I have highlighted a path to some answers for the problems identified.

Significance of Study

This study added to longitudinal studies in desegregation literature, especially in the use of magnet schools. I donated the transcripts to the oral history collection at the Oklahoma Historical Society because they concerned an important time period in American history and in the state's history. Orfield (2004), Wolters (2004), Wells (1995), and Schofield (1991) stated the need for longitudinal studies involving school

desegregation. Gersti-Pepin (2002), and Bush, Burley & Causey-Bush (2001) also stated the need for longitudinal studies and the use of magnet schools to achieve desegregation. Practitioners such as school administrators now have a better understanding of how to extend the benefits of desegregation to students who do not participate in magnet programs, primarily by creating ways for the students to interact with each other to foster an end to racism and to begin to build weak ties among the students and others who can help them further themselves. Lawmakers can also see that schools will need more funding if they are going to be able to aid administrators in the aforementioned tasks. More than a decade ago, the average cost to operate a magnet school was about \$200.00 more per pupil per year than a non-magnet school (Yu & Taylor, 1997).

The study will also aid lawmakers and judges as they continue to struggle with desegregation in light of Justice Breyer's statement in *Meridith v. Jefferson County SBE, et al.* (2006) that districts are becoming more and more segregated. This research discovered that a magnet school achieved long-term desegregation in the respect that the African Americans interviewed gained access to predominantly White institutions and had opportunities for social mobility as a result. This was evidenced by their careers, social status, families, and friends 28 to 33 years after graduating from high school. Researchers will be able to continue expanding on perpetuation theory and network analysis, and begin applying the framework to other aspects of education such as economic segregation.

Limitation of Study

The limitations faced by this study centered on those interviewed. All of the graduates interviewed have lived successful lives since their graduation from BTW.

Success was measured by Well's definition of the intentions of *Brown* (1954) to give "African Americans access to predominantly White institutions...[and to]...enhance their opportunities for social mobility" (p. 531). While all but one of the graduates interviewed attended a predominantly White institution, they all made social advances. The one graduate who attended a traditionally Black school did so for reasons other than not being able to attend a predominantly White institution. The study was limited because I was not able to contact graduates who did not attend college to seek their recollections of the climate at BTW, friends, family backgrounds, career goals, and lives since graduation. This group of graduates may have offered a different perspective. Assuming these graduates would have been willing to participate in the study, several variables may have been working against them to make them aware of the study such as access to the internet and no use of the public library. I advertised the study in both media.

This study is just one of several studies needed to fully understand the desegregation phenomenon at BTW. This study only sought African American graduates. Other needed studies include the same perceptions from the White students who chose to attend high school in north Tulsa and the perceptions of those African American students the district sent away from BTW when it created the magnet school.

CHAPTER IV

Presentation of Data

The purpose of this study was to use Braddock's (1980) perpetuation theory to determine if Booker T. Washington High School (BTW), Tulsa Public School's (TPS) first magnet school, achieved the desired long-term effects of desegregation to give "African Americans access to predominantly White institutions...[and to]...enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances" (Wells, 1995, p. 531). To accomplish this, I interviewed six former BTW graduates and five individuals involved in the creation of the magnet school at BTW.

I conducted interviews from February to August, 2008. I divided the interviews into two groups: those associated with the creation of BTW as a magnet school and a sample of African American graduates who graduated between the years 1975-1980. TPS opened BTW as its *de jure* Black high school in 1913. It operated in this manner for 60 years before becoming a magnet school in 1973 as part of the district's voluntary school desegregation plan. During this 60 year period the school enjoyed an extremely rich heritage in north Tulsa, graduating scholars such as historian John Hope Franklin, and Hobart Jarrett, captain of the Wiley Debate Team, upon which the movie *The Great Debaters* was based. Graduates also include numerous professional athletes such as former professional basketball player Wayman Tisdale, major league baseball player Torri Hunter, and professional golfer Bill Spiller, one of the first African American professional golfers (Bell, 2008; J. Pegues, personal communication, March 27, 2008).

Group I: General Responses to Interview Questions

Question 1: Describe your relationship with BTW High School.

In response to relationship with BTW, all of those associated with the creation of BTW as a magnet school related their memories of TPS' efforts to achieve desegregation. Those memories are included here.

After discussing the purpose of the study with Howell, I let Howell describe his role in the creation of BTW. Howell stated there were racial tensions in the city during the early 1970s and the north Tulsa community feared TPS might close BTW as a result of desegregation efforts across the country. He discussed one of the first major attempts at desegregation when TPS bused about 150 White students to BTW to join 150 Black students to go around the city and see how the city worked. The group visited different government offices and businesses across the city. Howell stated the effort was not successful, and TPS eliminated the program shortly after it began.

The administration followed the desegregation efforts in Oklahoma City very closely, according to Howell, and did not want to see the federal government come in and take over the desegregation plans in TPS. When the federal court announced in the spring of 1973 that BTW had to be integrated the upcoming fall, Howell and the administration began working on plans to close the school at the end of the 1973 academic year and reopen it in the fall as an integrated high school. During this time period Superintendent Gordon Cawelti resigned his position and the board promoted Howell to the superintendency.

As superintendent, one of Howell's initial duties was to work on the desegregation plans for BTW. He participated in several "coffees" across the south side

of Tulsa. The coffees were informal meetings where he, other administrators, community leaders, and some BTW students met and discussed what education was like at BTW and what they expected the upcoming year. As a result of the efforts, the district recruited 500 White students who were willing to be bused to BTW. Howell relayed that when they presented that information to the school board during the summer of 1973, the board raised the number to 600. Discouraged, the group nonetheless continued its recruiting efforts with more “coffees” and reached the desired number.

Howell credited the success of BTW in achieving desegregation to a tremendous staff with the ability to create its own curriculum and the fortitude to do so. He also credited the work of H.J. Green.

Lewis echoed many of the same thoughts as Howell. He jumped right into the conversation in answering the first question by relaying the story behind the creation and reopening of BTW. The district had followed events in the Oklahoma City Public Schools and the Finger Plan, and the leaders realized they would have to be proactive to avoid a similar federal intervention. The district had worked on desegregation plans in the elementary and middle schools prior to 1973, but “the board of education members knew that we had to do something at the senior high schools so they had me to draft some plans for desegregation of Booker T. Washington High School.” Lewis said he created five or six different plans. One he called “the revolving door” would draw students from a pool and those students would attend BTW. He stated that Nancy McDonald, who served as the Director of Volunteer Programs, asked him to develop a voluntary plan like the one for the Carver Freedom School.

Lewis, along with Superintendent Gordon Cawelti, the president of the board, and one other board member began creating a voluntary plan for the desegregation of BTW. Initially, the plan stated the ratio to be 60% White and 40% Black. Cawelti asked Lewis what he thought about a 50/50 plan, stating that “the Black community would buy that [a magnet school] on a 50/50 basis.” They agreed the junior class of 1972-73 would remain at BTW and be allowed to graduate in 1974. They would concentrate their efforts on the underclassmen. The plans also included guidelines for incoming White students. The students “must be earning satisfactory grades, had to have satisfactory attendance, and be free of discipline problems in his or her home school.” Lewis and Cawelti determined they would have to make some faculty changes as well. To finish the planning stage, Cawelti requested that Lewis approach H.J. Green, principal at Hale High School, and Granville Smith, principal at Washington, to ask the two to switch jobs. The school board wanted to alter not only the identity of the school but the administration as well (Landholt, 1973c).

While Lewis described his role in the central office as supporting all of the schools and giving them what they needed, he mentioned a couple of times when he made distinct decisions in favor of BTW. Lewis and Green went into the other high schools in the district to recruit faculty members. Lewis said, “We wanted faculty members who were perceived to be the best in that school and who we felt, the two of us felt, would attract White students to Booker T. Washington High School.” He also noted that when other school administrators became aware of the success of the Advanced Placement programs at BTW, many wanted to add these programs to their curricula with

the hope of bringing back some of the bright White students who had transferred to BTW.

I probably made some enemies by telling the principals, “No, you can’t do anything that is going to detract from the accomplishments from Booker T. Washington High School or anything to cause parents not to want to or not to elect to let their students go there.”

H.J. Green began the interview by discussing the district’s fears of federal intervention, the same as Lewis. He explained that TPS wanted to avoid the problems that occurred in Oklahoma City as a result of forced desegregation. The school board began school desegregation in 1971 at the elementary school level by pairing all Black schools with all White schools. The following year the board closed Carver Junior High and bused those students across the district.¹ “It was a mess, but out of that grew this voluntary movement.” At this time the community, led by Julius Pegues and Nancy McDonald, began to unite and form Carver Freedom School, a voluntary integrated school that met in a local church and became the home school for many of the students the district had wanted to bus.

According to Green, early in 1973 the district discussed four plans to integrate BTW. These plans included combining three high schools so that students would go to a different high school each of their last three years. Another was to assign various blocks of White students from across the district to attend BTW for a year at a time. And still another “was the Vietnam Draft Proposal of a lottery every year.” During the spring of 1973, at the monthly school board meeting, J. Pegues and McDonald proposed a similar

¹ TPS changed Carver Junior High School to Carver Middle School beginning in the 1975-1976 school year.

plan for BTW as they had used to create voluntary integration at Carver Freedom School. According to Green, because the board “was looking for an out,” they quickly accepted the plan. Then, Superintendent Cawelti asked Green to become the principal of the new BTW by switching positions with the BTW principal, Granville Smith.

Green commented that the group had only a few months to bring together the new school. “In essence what they did was close Booker T. Washington on the last day of school and reopened it the next fall as a voluntary.” During the interim they did extensive work with faculty and curriculum, engineering White student interest, and ultimately selling the deal to both the White and Black communities.

To find out what it would take for White students to attend Booker T., the district surveyed the students at the other high schools and asked which courses would need to be offered to bring them to BTW; foreign language courses were high priority to students. “Russian was a big deal and Japanese was a big deal...so we ended up with a foreign language department that offered French, Spanish, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, Latin, and German.” The surveys also revealed student interest in, and the school subsequently added, courses in aeronautics, geology, archeology, Native American history, Black studies, women’s studies, multi-cultural studies, “an incredible fine arts program,” and specialized English courses. BTW also concentrated on Advanced Placement (AP) programs, offering 18 different AP courses by the 1975-76 school year. In addition to the AP courses, the school also implemented the International Baccalaureate Program.

The district told Green he could recruit up to five White teachers from the other high schools in the system:

I had the advantage there that I had taught at Edison, I had taught at Hale, Memorial, [and] East Central. I was an assistant principal at Rogers. So I had been in five different schools and I knew a lot of good teachers. Plus, I knew a lot of good teachers at the other schools, also. I really knew them, and I was able to go in and recruit some of the best teachers at those schools.

Green interviewed all of the approximately 50 teachers at BTW and rehired 32 or 33 of them. "So we put together a really powerful staff." Once the courses had been established and the teachers hired, Green and a group from the district went to the other high schools to make presentations for recruitment of White students.

After the presentations, the White students signed cards of intent to transfer to BTW. After visiting the several high schools, Green said they had gathered 600 to 700 cards of intent "but in order to enroll them we needed their parents to sign them. So out of that 600, when we went back, sent them back to have their parents sign, I think we got 47." At this point, Nancy McDonald began to organize coffees across the city. She hosted small gatherings where she, Green, and some current BTW students would meet with parents of children who had shown their interest in attending the magnet school. In July the district made one final mailing to White parents about the school and, by the beginning of the school year, had received approximately 550 White student applications. The district had planned to increase the enrollment of BTW from 800 to 1200 and have a split of 600 Black students and 600 White students. "We didn't quite reach 600, but we ended up 550/550 that first year."

The school reopened in Fall 1973 with a voluntarily integrated student body, an integrated staff, improved facilities (this was an ongoing process), and a student to

teacher ratio of 17:1. “That first year it was pretty much a utopia.” Green said his role as principal was “maintaining the vision and removing the obstacles,” along with allowing the teachers freedom to be creative. “The teachers had a lot of authority to make decisions and make their curriculums.” The school had an open environment.

We had two missions going on at the same time. One is to maintain the traditions of BTW and its importance in that community. The second was to demonstrate that Black and White can work together and go to school together and be productive together. A lot of people today think well, gosh, what is so big about that, but in the 1970s that was a major issue, especially in the South.

The interview with Julius Pegues had one overall guiding theme - the rich heritage that BTW and the Black schools of Tulsa prior to desegregation had before the creation of the magnet high school and the attempts to preserve that heritage and build upon it for the future. J. Pegues described his role in the creation of the magnet high school by discussing TPS’ earlier attempt at desegregation, specifically the closing of Carver Junior High. He stated that the district closed Carver to spread the Black kids across the district and desegregate the schools. Knowing that the next step would be to close BTW, J. Pegues commented, “we as a community told them, [TPS] ‘You are not going to close our high school.’ When schools close, communities die...schools are key components of viable communities.”

In response to the closing of Carver and the prospect of closing BTW, J. Pegues and the north Tulsa community created an “alternative” school for the students of Carver, at that time a *de jure*, all-Black school. The community sponsored the creation of the Carver Freedom School which met at Saint Monica’s Catholic Church. “The community

sponsored the school and the community supported the school with its dollars. We ran the Carver Freedom School for a semester from September to December [1972].” During the second semester, the school board began to renovate Carver Junior High School and the north Tulsa community filtered students back in from the Carver Freedom School. The community also began to turn its attention to BTW and what would happen there during the spring of 1973.

In the interview with McDonald, she began by stating that to understand her role in the reopening of BTW as a magnet school in 1973, one had to look at the development of Burroughs Elementary and Carver Junior High.

[The reopening of BTW] happened because of what happened at Burroughs Little School and at Carver Middle School. Well, in 1970 this school district was mandated by the federal courts to desegregate its elementary schools, and we had four schools that were built for segregation.

She continued by stating the city was “rampant” with hate, and the schools were reluctant to accept any outside support from parents and the community. Many of the buildings had signs posted that read “No Parents Allowed.” As a result of this attitude, there was no interaction with the community at large. Because McDonald had a son who was in the second grade, she and other parents began discussing what they could do to improve the school situation. The group approached the board, with the support of Bruce Howell, then assistant superintendent, and asked “if they [the board] would give us the curriculum that we wanted and put into teacher hiring and use of community resources as well as parent volunteers, we thought we could desegregate their elementary on a volunteer basis.”

In September 1971, the group began with Burroughs Elementary School and found White students willing to go into north Tulsa for their education. The desegregation efforts at Burroughs became known as Burroughs Little School. McDonald said, “It was sort of like you knew some people. It was your friends, alright? So I could recruit my friends and vice versa.” The day the school opened, television stations from as far away as London, England, came to witness the White students going into Black neighborhoods for their education.

The year after Burroughs Little School opened on a voluntary integration basis, the district closed Carver Junior High because of Judge Daugharty’s order that the school had to be desegregated by the fall semester of 1972. The district accomplished this by closing the school and busing the Black kids to White schools across the city. McDonald commented that J. Pegues led a protest in the Black community to keep their kids out of TPS and to create the Carver Freedom School. Together with Bob LaFortune, Tulsa’s mayor, Joe Williams, president of Williams Company, and Julius Pegues, McDonald and other community leaders reopened Carver Junior High in the spring of 1973 with the same emphasis on community involvement and voluntary desegregation that had worked at Burroughs Little School.

Opening Carver Junior High as a voluntary desegregated school was not easy. McDonald stated that more students had to be involved, which meant more parents to contact and convince of the effectiveness of such a program. The group began to hold “Carver Coffees” across the city during 1972, especially in the churches.

We will have a coffee and you will invite some of your friends and Bruce Howell and some of us who experienced Burroughs Little School will come and talk.

And that is how we started our recruitment. It is very personal: small groups, in homes, Black and White. Because we had closed Carver on paper, [it] did not have an attendance zone, and so the Black youngsters had to...apply to get in as did the Whites.

The group had a commitment from the city of Tulsa to renovate Carver, and with commitment from 250 students, the district agreed to supply faculty and bus transportation. The district would not design the routes, though, and this burden fell upon McDonald who used a grid system and had students attending Carver meet at local pick-up spots around the city.

In the spring of 1973 with Burroughs Little School and Carver Junior High School both operating on a voluntary desegregated basis, the group learned that Judge Daugharty had ordered the district to desegregate BTW by the fall semester of that same year. On the last day of the 1973 school year, the district closed BTW and reopened it in the fall as a desegregated high school.

The district had several plans to desegregate BTW, according to McDonald. She described the school board meetings as “crazy.” The school board planned to move H.J. Green, then principal at Hale High School, to BTW and switch positions with the current principal there, Granville Smith. They had several plans on how to bring White students to the school, ranging from a lottery to rotating strips across the city to rotating pockets around the city in which White students in the strip or pocket would have to attend BTW for a year and then return to their home school. Eventually, Judge Daugharty and Bruce Howell asked the group who had done the work with Burroughs and Carver if they would do the same for BTW, and both McDonald and J. Pegues accepted.

McDonald reported that Green went to the high schools across the district and recruited some of their best teachers. He told the teachers they would have the academic freedom to do what they wanted with their classes. “So you could pull out the cream of the crop [teachers] and they were willing to go with him [Green]...he had a great reputation in this community.” McDonald and Green went to the various high schools before the summer break, explained the new innovative curriculum and asked students to volunteer. They received over 600 students willing to transfer to BTW that fall. The parents would not sign the transfer forms, though. “So when you asked for the parents’ signatures, they said, ‘No way, we are not going to send our kids up there. No way. No.’ Just wiped it out.” The group then implemented the same tactics to bring White students to BTW that they had previously used at Burroughs and Carver. They began the “Carver Coffees” again during the summer of 1973. “Over that summer, H.J. and I went to about 70 meetings.”

The conversation turned to the quality of the curriculum put in place at BTW. The school was the first in the district to implement Advanced Placement courses. McDonald also mentioned the International Baccalaureate program they offered. She said she saw the program in a magazine and called the magazine’s headquarters for more information. The director of the IB program stated that he was getting ready for a trip across the country and that he would stop in Tulsa to visit with McDonald and Green.

So...I hosted uh, an event here for Jack Griffin and H.J., and we decided we would put the program in and we put it in, and raised all the money because the school system would not pay for it. I raised that money.

One reverberating theme in the conversation was this idea that the district would not fund programs. McDonald and the others had to acquire community support initially before the district would commit any funding. This commitment only came later.

Question 2: What did you see as the negative and/or positive aspects of the racial make-up of BTW?

As the interviewees responded to this question, they tended to explain how the community viewed the new school and how they viewed it now. Then, at times, they discussed their views on the impact the new school had on the community.

Howell stated he was aware of the racial tensions in Tulsa during the early 1970s. He did not comment on how often he traveled to BTW after it reopened in the fall of 1973, but he did say there was still some tension in north Tulsa after the reopening. When prompted specifically about incidents at the school, Howell stated he had heard of none.

Lewis stated that both the Black and White communities were ready for something positive to happen at BTW, and they both expressed their excitement when the district constructed a new school building in the late 1990s. The community saw the school facilities improve over time until the district finally built the new high school. Lewis did not recall any negative feelings from either community. He stated that the Black students who had attended BTW and whom the district transferred to other schools for one reason or another, “found their niches in the other high schools where they were assigned and bused.” Many students had attended other middle schools during the time Carver Middle School had been closed and had developed relationships they welcomed when they were bused back to noncontiguous high schools, according to Lewis.

When I asked Green about the Black community's acceptance of the new school, Green responded there were a few in the community who were upset because there were students whose families had a tradition of going to BTW and now they could not.

However, there was such a strong acceptance in the community of this [the magnet school] because it kept BTW viable. And there was great fear at the time they would do what a lot of places did and that was close down the Black school. There was a lot of fear of that, and it was probably legitimate fear, that they could lose their school. So being able to maintain their school and especially with maintaining it with the level of academic prowess that it had.

Most of the interview with J. Pegues revolved around the reopening of BTW as a magnet school in the fall of 1973 and the community's reactions to that event. J. Pegues said the community welcomed H.J. Green and the White kids into BTW: "Come here and get this good education because we have got some of the best teachers in the land." As head of the Cat and Hummingbird Club, an athletic club that sponsored athletic events at Carver Junior High School and Anderson Junior High School, J. Pegues held a reception for Green in the spring of 73 when the district announced he and Smith would be changing principalships. "It was pouring down rain on that Sunday. As the time drew near for the reception, it gradually let up and stopped. We had good attendance and everyone got to meet H.J. Green...and they moved forward from that point."

According to J. Pegues, "when they desegregated BTW High School [1973], all of the students who lived in the BTW High School attendance area went to BTW High School. There were no qualifications for them." This continued for a short time until they implemented the magnet program in the school:

They divided the Booker T. Washington High School attendance area up into noncontiguous areas and assigned the students to East Central and to Rogers and to Hale and to Memorial...now that brings into play something different because now you have a school that is different than all of the other schools in the city of Tulsa. Because no student in the Booker T. attendance area had the right to go to Booker T. like all the rest of the students.

J. Pegues claimed this contention was the problem the north Tulsa community had with the creation of BTW as a magnet school.

Every student in the Tulsa Public School system has the right to go to their neighborhood school except the students that live in the Booker T. Washington High School attendance area...they have to qualify to go to their neighborhood school...You had students living right across the street from the school who couldn't go to their school. Like I said, I didn't like it then when they started it and I don't like it now because they are treated differently...This is discrimination.

This change from the original plan happened shortly after Green left as principal, according to J. Pegues.

When I asked McDonald about the racial make-up that first year, she responded that it was not an issue. "I mean, there were not any big racial problems." I then questioned her about the attendance zone and students who did not make it back into BTW. "That is a sticky issue because everybody else has a neighborhood school except Carver and Booker T." McDonald then indicated that many students wanted to go to the other high schools and were now able to do so. "They weren't going to play [basketball]

at Booker T., but if they went to Edison, they were going to be top dog.” She went on to claim that by accepting White kids into BTW and having Black kids moving out into the district, a natural integration of society has occurred over the past 35 years.

Question 3: Did the magnet program change the racial attitudes of the school?

The district?

Howell stated, once again, he had heard of no racial problems at the school. He did share his thoughts on racial attitudes in the district. He stated that because of his position as superintendent, he was privy to more information than the other associates involved in the creation of BTW. He described incidents that never came to fruition during the fall of 1973 that involved racial attitudes. These incidents were limited to a small role in the background of events as the school opened. Howell did comment that during the summer, the north Tulsa community hosted a parade for the new faculty and students coming into BTW. He commented on the extreme pride the north Tulsa community had for BTW and how this was conveyed by positive actions the community did as a whole in welcoming the students such as the parade. While there were a few sporadic racial incidents, the overall racial attitude was conveyed by support of the plan through such events as the parade.

When I questioned Howell about the attendance zone controversy, Howell stated that BTW initially had its own section of non-contiguous zone within the BTW home attendance area. This small area covered those families living near the school. He stated he was not sure if TPS still had that policy.

Lewis described the efforts of the administration office and staff at BTW as being similar to the workings in the Pentagon. He stated when the staff said they needed

something, the administration office provided it. He said that he did not get to see and know the students because of the nature of his position. He did say that when he visited BTW, “everything seemed to be running smoothly” because of the relationship shared with the school and the administration office.

I questioned Green about racial tensions in the school during those years he was there, especially the first year it reopened. He commented, “That first year it was so new and everybody was so attuned - there was nothing serious.” There were a few problems the second year, but “nothing huge.” He attributed this to the school environment as a whole, but also to the demographics of many of the White students who transferred in and to the leadership of the senior class in 1974. The White students were overwhelmingly concerned about the advanced curriculum and their studies. They tended to come from liberal families as well. The senior class had all of its original members from the previous year. One of the selling points to the north Tulsa community was that *all* juniors who had attended BTW before it became a magnet school would be allowed to return and graduate when the school reopened.

Regarding racial tensions with the reopening of BTW, J. Pegues stated he knew of none. He explained that he thought the positive impact of the integration of BTW was the exchange of ideas and culture that occurred among the Black and White students. “Black kids get to know about White culture, and White kids get to know about Black culture. And that is what makes for a better society.” He later expanded on this idea when he related a story about a TPS lawyer questioning him at the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. The lawyer asked J. Pegues if Black kids need White kids to sit beside them to learn. J. Pegues responded

White kids don't need Black kids sitting beside them to learn, and Black kids don't need White kids sitting beside them to learn. They need to come together so that they might better understand one another...Because when we learn about each other, society is better off.

I asked McDonald if she was able to see any changes in racial attitudes, especially based on her earlier statements about the unrest in Tulsa in the 1970s. She related stories that her children, all of whom attended BTW, had told her over time. They told her that "...[to] work with all people...wasn't a big issue for us...we began to see each other as people, not as a race." The interactions that her children and the other students had helped break down barriers she thought might have existed. "That will break down the prejudice. I don't care whether you are Black or White or gay or straight or whatever."

Question 4: Describe what you knew as the purpose for creating BTW as a magnet school.

During the interview process with those involved in creating BTW as a magnet school, all the interviewees relayed that they knew the purpose for the magnet program. A common theme that emerged around this question was the possibility of TPS closing BTW as it had done with Carver. Those interviewed unanimously responded the feeling that this was inevitable if BTW were not used as a desegregation tool.

Question 5: How would you judge the success or failure of BTW and its goal as a magnet school?

Howell summed up his perceptions of the success of BTW by stating the district "stumbled" upon a great idea. He again stated TPS wanted to do something to avoid the problems that Oklahoma City was facing with federally controlled desegregation. The

district was willing to give the idea of a magnet school the opportunity to succeed. He stressed there was no precedent for what they were doing through enticing students to transfer to BTW by offering an advanced curriculum. The term “magnet” was not applied to BTW until 1975.

In discussing the success of the school, Howell made a distinction between desegregation and integration. He stated on the surface the school was desegregated; in other words, the two races began attending school together, but true integration was another issue. According to Howell, this process involved more than just putting the students in the same building. It was a mental transformation. He stated the reality of seeing the Black population integrated into the White population in TPS would take a long time, but knew the creation of the magnet school at BTW was the best option available for the district.

Howell asked me about developing themes in the current study. I responded that one theme that all of the graduates mentioned was that of extra-curricular activities being tools for desegregation. That, stated Howell, was what integration was about, not simply putting the students in the same school building, but enabling students to work together and to know each other on a different level. Extra-curricular activities provided this, according to Howell.

Lewis gave credit for the success of BTW to McDonald and Green. Lewis attributed the success of BTW to the recruitment efforts of Nancy McDonald. “I am not so sure that we would ever have had pulled it off as smoothly as we did had it not been for Nancy McDonald and her input.” He stated that McDonald was well known in the community and was the reason for the creation of Burroughs Elementary School’s

voluntary desegregation program. Once the students agreed to attend BTW, the school allowed the students to select their own classes and teachers.

The success of the whole system Lewis attributed to H.J. Green and the faculty the two of them established at BTW through recruitment and retention. “H.J. Green was, or he is, a very innovative person with lots of ideas.” In discussing the faculty, Lewis stated, “I think teachers wanted to be a part of something new and different. They had ideas they wanted to pursue in the teaching experiences.” He later said, “The lump of success first and foremost has to be with the faculty on site at BTW High School.” As a response to the question of where he would rank BTW in his 40 year career with TPS, Lewis stated, “Probably, it was one of the best things that ever happened to TPS.”

Green commented the goal behind creating the magnet school at BTW was twofold: to maintain the traditions of BTW and to demonstrate that Black and White students can “work together and go to school together and be productive.” He stated this was a novel idea for the early ‘70s. He further stated the fact the school is considered to be one of the top high schools in the country is proof the “experiment” worked. He explained that as new superintendents moved into the district, they each changed a little as they wanted to put their personal touch on things, but BTW maintained excellence over the past 35 years. That illustrated its success.

J. Pegues credited H.J. Green with the initial success of the magnet school. “See, when H.J. Green came with the desegregated school and then the magnet school, he had sensitivity and compassion for all of that history that went on before...that is what enabled him to be as successful as he was.” J. Pegues related a story he recently discovered when the district built the new BTW high school. When he learned the school

had taken down several pictures and plaques of important figures in BTW history, J. Pegues personally had them refurbished and rehung commemorating, among others, Carrie D. Neely, who wrote the school song in the 1930s; E.W. Woods, the first principal of BTW who served from 1913-1948; and Booker T. Washington himself. At the time of this interview he was in the process of refurbishing the sports and academic trophies and having a new trophy case built to hold them. He stated the new trophy case would be ready for display in the remaining part of the old BTW school still standing where the new high school is located.

J. Pegues' love for his *alma mater* continued to be displayed throughout the interview. As the interview neared the end, he related another story in which he had a discussion with a former principal over the issue of removing the plaques. When the former principal stated that Pegues felt strongly about what he was wanting, he replied to her "...you are walking on holy ground."

I asked McDonald for her thoughts on the success of BTW 35 years after the magnet program opened. She paused and then told a story of how she had been inspired to get the graduates of BTW together recently. She said, "I just sort of sat there and thought, you know, that great experiment really worked. These kids talked about race issues. They talked about education."

Group II: General Responses to Interview Questions

Question 1: Describe your high school experience at BTW.

All interviewees responded in similar fashion with positive statements about their time at BTW. Goodwin, who served as class president his junior and senior years, stated his time at BTW "were some of the best times of my life." Goodwin was a leader early in

school, and this asset stayed with him throughout high school. He was an avid sports player in high school, playing baseball, basketball, and football, and eventually receiving a baseball scholarship to Tennessee State University in Nashville. Goodwin stated that attending BTW was a family tradition. “It was an opportunity for me to do some of the things my father...as well as my grandfather had experienced because they were all graduates of Booker T. Washington High School.”

Goodwin attended BTW for his high school career. He was a sophomore in the spring of 1973 when the plans materialized to close and reopen the school as a magnet school in the fall. Goodwin served as a member of the BTW ambassador program that visited other TPS high schools in the spring of 1973 as a welcome group trying to recruit White students to the new BTW that would reopen in the fall. He recalled going through the application process to attend the magnet school, but cautioned that he did not know how it worked. He stated most of the students in his sophomore class filed applications. “Ninety-nine percent of the kids filled out the paperwork.” He said some neighborhood students were turned away from BTW, and others who had not applied gained acceptance.

Jimerson stated that she remembered the racial tensions in Tulsa during the early 1970s. The district had bused her across town to Roosevelt Middle School and then to Wilson Middle School during her middle school years, and she resided in the Rogers High School attendance zone. She applied and gained acceptance to BTW her junior year, the first year of the magnet school. She said of the time spent at BTW, “I have some incredibly vivid memories of that magnet program... the first day being a very good day.” She talked about how she met the buses of White students as they came to

school. We were “peace makers, welcoming the new students into the school because that was a very novel concept at the time, to bring the White students into the Black community.”

I probed further on Jimerson’s decision not to attend Rogers, and asked what specifically drew her to BTW. Jimerson responded that three things had enticed her to apply to BTW: the curriculum, music, and family history.

I was attracted to the courses that BTW offered. They offered some business law courses and debate classes that I thought were interesting and would help me in the field of law. We had linguistics there. We had just everything and that was unheard of for a high school, particularly in north Tulsa.

In regard to music, Jimerson stated she had always been a fan of music, especially jazz. She emerged as a leader in the band. “I ended up...leading the band at some point. Probably the band more than anything else [attracted Jimerson to attend BTW] and then family history. All of my sisters and brothers had attended BTW.” Jimerson also commented in other questioning that she had not enjoyed her time at Roosevelt. She considered herself a good student and commented how the teachers had treated her poorly. “I remember teachers being mean and saying ugly things to us, and I just thought this is not what education should be about.”

Because of racial tensions in TPS, Price had moved to Detroit her ninth grade year to attend school and live with a family member. She told a story of high racial tensions in the Tulsa district and how she had been bused to Wright Middle School across town. She only attended the first four days in TPS during her ninth grade year. She recalled, “Stepping off the bus, there were kids lined on both sides and you had to walk

down [through them]. Almost like the thing you saw in Little Rock, it was that kind of thing. And most of that I could have dealt with [the racism from the students], it was more that I felt I wasn't being respected academically." She continued by saying that she knew by that time she wanted to go to college and the staff at Wright had placed her in remedial classes. She went to her teachers and counselors and "expressed concern" that she had already taken the math courses and the English course. The response to her was, "We need to put you guys here to see where you fit." She returned to Tulsa and attended BTW her tenth grade year and described the next three years with an emphatic, "It was awesome. It was awesome."

At the end of her sophomore year, like Goodwin, BTW chose Price to be one of the BTW ambassadors to visit surrounding schools. She saw the ambassador program as "breaking down the barriers" with the White students. The facilitators would make general statements such as "Tell the group something about you that nobody knows," and the students would take turns responding. Price finished this part of the interview by stating she was involved in many sports during her time at BTW and this also brought her a lot of joy.

Williams began attending BTW his sophomore year. He had lived in Oklahoma City and had attended Crooked Oak Schools during his middle school years after attending elementary school at Dunbar Elementary in Tulsa. He wanted to attend BTW because many of his family members had attended school there. He recalled learning of the magnet school and the application process upon his return to Tulsa when the district required him to attend school at Nathan Hale High School until approved. He remembered those two weeks as being less than wonderful.

My discoveries at Nathan Hale were that even though they were trying to promote desegregation [this] really wasn't the atmosphere of the school. I discovered the tendencies to have Blacks segregated in the majority of the classes. They weren't allowed to participate in the high level classes that were used predominantly only for the White [students].

Williams expanded on this statement by describing an incident he encountered in band. The instructors at Hale put Williams in the beginning band. Because he felt he was a much better student and he had been chosen for the Central Oklahoma Directors' Association Honorary Band the previous year, Williams asked the band teacher about transferring into the advanced band class. The teacher had Williams meet him after school where Williams played several musical instruments. After the solo concert, the band teacher promoted Williams to the advanced class. Shortly after this episode, Williams learned BTW had accepted his application. At BTW, Williams participated in various clubs and organizations, especially those involving music, drama, and theater.

Williams described the moment of learning of his acceptance as exciting. "It was a family tradition and I didn't want to be the first person outside my family [not to attend BTW]...even my grandparents and my great grandparents went to BTW at one time." Williams came from a large family, six siblings, some of whom were half siblings. He described going to the school on the same day he learned of his acceptance at BTW. He remembered walking into the school and seeing friends he attended school with from Dunbar Elementary.

Broussard stated he enjoyed his time at BTW. "I would say my experience at BTW was positive. I really enjoyed being there." He attended BTW from 1976-1980.

Broussard moved with his family from Texas to Tulsa during his eighth grade year when he began attending Academy Central in the Gilcrease Hills neighborhood of Tulsa. Not knowing much about the high schools in the TPS system, and his home school being Central High School, Broussard stated his friends advised him that if he wanted to go to the best public high school in Tulsa, he should apply to BTW. He stated that he remembered applying, but that there must not have been much to the application process as he could not recall any interviews or essays to be written. He further added that, as far as he could recall, all of his friends who applied were accepted and he could not remember anyone not being accepted who had applied. “You had to apply, of course, but I don’t remember much about the application process. I don’t remember [friends not gaining acceptance]. If they did apply and didn’t make it, I wasn’t aware that they had applied.”

M. Pegues graduated from BTW in 1980. He discussed attending BTW and middle school in TPS. During middle school, he and his family planned on his possibly attending Cascia Hall, a private preparatory school in Tulsa. Because his father was an important person in the Greenwood neighborhood of Tulsa and was working on plans for desegregation, the local newspaper published this information, and J. Pegues decided to send his son to Carver Middle School instead. M. Pegues attended Carver until he matriculated to BTW. He relayed stories of his youth when the family would attend football games, especially as the school began playing for state championships during the late 1960s and early 1970s. “I always, as a kid, had a dream of going to Booker T.” Like all of the other interviewees, M. Pegues was involved in extra-curricular activities. He

was an avid sports enthusiast, participating on the baseball, basketball, and football teams.

Question 2: Describe your friends at Washington and what influence they had on you in high school and have had since you graduated from high school.

Goodwin stated, as did many others, the friends he had in high school were friends that he made when he attended Carver Middle School. Many of these friendships were established playing little league baseball, swimming at Lincoln Park, and various other activities at the Hutchinson Branch YMCA. Goodwin stated that he had close White friends who came to BTW and played sports after the school became a magnet school. He also played baseball with many of these White students on various summer league teams.

When asked about how much influence his friends had on him, Goodwin jokingly commented that he probably had more influence on his friends. He clarified this statement by stating that, "I was fortunate to be born into the family I lived in." He came from a very rich tradition in education. Because of the strong role models in his life within his family and influential people in the neighborhood, Goodwin emerged as a leader during his high school years.

Like Goodwin, Jimerson stated that she actually met her core friends in elementary school and junior high school. "...my best friends formed in elementary school, those are still my best friends...the friends that I had in high school probably go back to elementary school and then they continued in high school." One of the friends she dated during her high school years at BTW.

When Price responded to questions about her friends, she stated that she had all kinds of friends. She again commented on sports, stating that through basketball she had made friends with some of the White kids or the “new kids.” “The new kids, a couple of them, especially on the basketball team, I communicated with for many years [after high school].”

Williams described his friends as being leaders. He and his friends participated in the various organizations in school and served as presidents and vice-presidents of those organizations. He again stated that many of these organizations centered on music, drama, and theater.

Unlike the other interviewees, Broussard attended TPS for only part of his eighth grade year and had not established local friendships during his adolescent years in the Tulsa area. Broussard said his close friends through high school were his teammates in the various sports in which he participated. He was a successful member of the tennis team. He stated that not all sports were well integrated. There were a few Black players on the tennis team, but the team was predominantly White as was the swim team. Other sports such as basketball and football were just the opposite. With further prompting about the role of sports and desegregation, Broussard added, “There was no animosity” among the players.

But those folks that were involved in sports, they were very integrated and I think it made a big difference because you got to spend more time with kids that were Black kids or White kids or whatever. So...if you spend a lot of time doing it [playing sports], it is going to force you to be together more.

Broussard continued to elaborate by stating that even though one might see what appeared to be segregated groups in the cafeteria, he felt the students respected each other. He contributed the separateness he witnessed on the surface as adolescents exploring their identities.

I don't think there was any animosity..., but I do think there was also a feeling that this is an age when you are trying to find yourself and identify with who you are. So, if you are Black, you don't want to be necessarily, even though you might be friendly with some of the White students, you may not want to be too friendly with them in the cafeteria because somebody might say, who do you think you are? Are you really Black? And I think there was the same thing from the White kids.

M. Pegues was a sports player during high school and remembered those times as being very good. Because he was a sports player, M. Pegues described his friends at BTW as mostly being his teammates, many of whom he had played with during middle school at Carver. Of the close friends he had in high school, M. Pegues mentioned he met all but two of them in middle school. He gave an example of sports and his friends when he relayed the story of attending a birthday party for John Green, the son of H.J. Green, and spending the night with Green while they were in middle school. The group woke up the next morning and went back to the basketball court on which they had played the previous day and continued playing. To this day, M. Pegues still maintains contact with many of his previous teammates.

Question 3: What were your career goals in high school and how were they different, if any, from what your career is now?

Goodwin had plans throughout high school to become a lawyer, and he began college with this in mind. He majored in political science and minored in education. He stated that during his senior year he did his student teaching in a Nashville high school that was similar to BTW before desegregation. The student teaching experience made such an impact on Goodwin that he decided to become an educator. "I saw the need for Black males in education and I just, at that time, knew that my calling was to be in education." He had worked for 22 years at Redan High School at the time of the interview.

Jimerson stated that she knew she wanted to be a lawyer from the age of 12. This was one of the reasons she applied to attend BTW. "I was attracted to the courses that BTW offered; they offered some business law classes and debate classes." She recalled several teachers who encouraged her to be successful. She commented on how much she must have conveyed this message during school when she talked about the comments left by her teachers in her senior year book. "I must have verbalized this at an early age because they all kind of reiterated the fact that you will become a lawyer and yes, you will be successful at what you do." While Jimerson did not become a lawyer immediately after college, she did finish law school and served in a law firm in Tulsa at the time of the interview.

Price knew that she always wanted to go to college. This was part of her reason for applying to BTW. She admitted she did not have a clear idea of what to study initially. She described herself and an older brother as being "very innovative and creative." The two of them would often take things apart and repair them for pleasure. She received a scholarship from the Oklahoma Bar Association upon graduation and

began her studies at the University of Oklahoma as a business major with the intent of becoming a lawyer. Her desires to “fix” things overtook her though, as she remembered encountering a young man on campus with “a big red calculus book.” She inquired what major required the study of that book. Upon discovering that the young man was studying to be an engineer, Price changed her major to electrical engineering and power systems in which she later earned her degree.

Price spent the next 20 years working in the oil industry, not as an electrical engineer, but as a project engineer. Her organizational skills she said she always possessed and her degree allowed her to work as a project manager for Sun Oil. She recalled her experiences of being an African American female in a White male dominated profession as enjoyable, and she gives credit for part of her abilities to accomplish this to her attendance at BTW.

[Concerning] work [because of]...the last couple of years at Booker T....I felt comfortable, even though it was stressful going into a traditionally White, male dominated industry, the oil industry. I spent time in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, or up in east Texas on oil wells, meeting with foremen and technicians and things. When I pulled up in a company vehicle, they looked and said “Wow.” But that wasn’t a big [deal,] I mean I was used to that. I felt prepared for that...because of my experiences at Booker T. and just the way I was brought up.

Price had retired from Sun Oil and was working on other ventures at the time of the interview. She told me that she had always felt a sense of indebtedness for receiving the Oklahoma Bar Association scholarship and then not becoming a lawyer. In response to this feeling, and her innate civic values instilled by her family, she had recently

volunteered to serve on a Texas grand jury. When the court asked her why she volunteered, she replied "...interestingly enough I won a scholarship out of high school and I always felt I should pay it forward or give back or something like that."

I asked Williams about his career goals during high school. Williams stated that he wanted to be a music teacher because of his love for music. BTW offered several different classes in band, orchestra, drama, and theater of which Williams took advantage. He recalled discussing this with an aunt who had also graduated from BTW and was a music teacher. The aunt told Williams of the intrinsic rewards in teaching, but warned him there were not many monetary rewards in the field. After consideration, Williams recalled thinking about what his aunt had told him and how he decided to attend business school instead of pursuing a career in education.

Williams graduated from business school and began a career as an executive assistant. He explained that he faced some discrimination as an African American male executive assistant, but attributed his experience at BTW to giving him the tolerance to deal with this. In time, Williams changed careers and acquired a position with the Department of Corrections while living in California. He returned to Oklahoma in 2003 to be with his aging parents, where he continued his career with the Department of Corrections in Oklahoma.

Broussard said that he always knew he would go to college. He was not sure of what his career would be, but that college was a part of it. After graduating from college, Broussard developed plans to attend graduate school and possibly earn a Doctor of Philosophy degree in economics. But a year working for a law firm convinced him that

he wanted to be a lawyer. He then attended and graduated from the University of Tulsa Law School.

M. Pegues commented that he began the ninth grade with the idea in mind to take the tougher courses that would prepare him for college. His parents had instilled in him that he would go to college after high school. “When I came in for the ninth grade, my parents were always preaching, you have to do something. Get a job. Go to college. Go to college was our thing so we started a plan to go to college.”

M. Pegues admitted that he did know what he wanted to study when he began college. The curriculum offered at BTW prepared him well in math and science which led him into the field of engineering for college. He commented that the teachers in the more difficult classes pushed the students to do better. Many of M. Pegues’ friends also took the tougher classes as they also had intentions of going to college. He remembered unique classes such as a Devils in Literature class in which he studied various genres of literature that all had something to do with the devil. Pegues credited this class and the teacher with fostering in him a joy of reading. He stated all of his teachers aided in his being successful.

I think the African American teachers were there because they wanted to see the kids be successful. I think the White teachers who came over...this is a different environment and I think they wanted to be in that environment. So because of that, they wanted the students to be successful and they had something to contribute and so they gave a little bit extra.

M. Pegues also said that he felt comfortable talking to his teachers on a personal level. He went to the homes of many of them as a high school student. M. Pegues later

graduated from college with an engineering degree and worked as an engineer for several years before returning to law school. He worked as an intellectual property lawyer in Dallas, Texas, at the time of the interview.

Question 4: Describe your family background.

As mentioned above, Goodwin came from a family that had a high value on education. He relayed the story of how his grandfather brought his family to Oklahoma from Mississippi because African Americans could not receive an education beyond the sixth grade in Mississippi. His grandfather was a college graduate and became a lawyer and a journalist. His father had seven siblings and all eight earned college degrees from places such as Fisk University and the University of Notre Dame. His family began publishing *The Oklahoma Eagle*, Tulsa's African American newspaper. Goodwin stated that he had three siblings and they all earned a college education from prestigious institutions. They now serve in professional roles across the country. "It was just a foregone conclusion from an early age [to attend college] because all of them [aunts and uncles] were college educated." This rich tradition became an asset for Goodwin when he emerged as a leader during his junior and senior years at BTW. As previously mentioned, Goodwin eventually became an educator and served as an administrator at the time of the interview.

Jimerson described her family as a working family. Both parents worked away from the home. She grew up in a spiritual household where her family instilled in her and her siblings, at a young age, that college was something they were going to do after high school.

In regard to family background, Price described her family as an extended family. Various aunts, uncles, and so forth all had strong familial ties, hence her ability to live with an aunt in Detroit during her ninth grade school year. Price was one of six children. Her father supported the family as her mother was a stay-at-home mom. “They really instilled strong values and strong morals.” Price’s mother completed some college, and her father was not able to complete high school. She commented that she had several aunts and uncles who had advanced degrees and that her grandfather was a teacher.

Williams restated that both of his parents graduated from BTW. He said that his parents divorced, and because they both remarried, he had a large family; he was in the middle of seven siblings. He said they were a very close family, and even though he lived with his mother, he and all of his siblings spent the summers with their father.

Broussard was one of five children. His mother was a retired school teacher and his father retired from IBM. With the exception of one brother who attended Oklahoma State University for a while, Broussard and all of his siblings earned college degrees. The family grew up in Port Arthur, Texas, and moved to Tulsa during Broussard’s eighth grade year. He commented that while there was segregation in Texas, what he found interesting about Tulsa was the apparent isolation of north Tulsa.

What struck me when we moved to Tulsa was that the city was very segregated.

It is not as much now, but the north side was the Black side of town and you go outside the north side and that is where most of the White families lived. ...in the north side, there were very few businesses, and you had to go south for everything which I thought was kind of odd.

M. Pegues described his family as being “very close.” He had two siblings and his family lived in north Tulsa. His father earned a graduate degree from the University of Pittsburgh and his mother earned her Doctor of Education degree from the University of Tulsa. He stated that he also had several aunts and uncles who had college educations. This strong support for education had an impact on M. Pegues. “You know, growing up, that was just one of those things, you were going to college.” He attributed an independent streak that he possessed in his youth and adult life to his family and the magnet school he attended at Carver Middle School and being continuously fostered during his time at BTW.

Question 5: Who were the most influential persons for you during high school other than your family? Explain why these people were influential.

In describing influential people during his high school career, Goodwin stated that the most influential people were the leaders of north Tulsa. Reverend Leroy Jordan of the First Baptist Church, Julius Pegues, and Homer Johnson he mentioned by name. All of these people were active leaders in the community and personal friends of the family. Goodwin stated he often sought their advice during the transition of BTW to the magnet school. They stressed to him that many of the events happening were out of the control of north Tulsans and that he, as a leader, should make it work.

When I asked her to explain the most influential people to her during high school other than family, Jimerson paused, and said it was a little difficult to think of somebody other than family because her family had such an impact on her decision to go to college. When she did conceive an answer, Jimerson named some of her teachers. She said the teachers were extremely influential to her and helped build confidence that she could

accomplish the things she intended. “They were just always encouraging. They always shared their time, number one, with me...always encouraged me to be the best at whatever it was I did.” She later went on to state, “...the relationship that the parents had with the teachers was such that you didn’t have to go to the principal. That teacher would call that parent and the parent would correct whatever that behavior was.”

Price recalled that some of the most influential people during high school were her teachers. She mentioned several by name and related a story about her Latin teacher, a White teacher who came to BTW as a result of the magnet school. Price said that over time they developed a relationship whereby the teacher would help her with her studies and she, in turn, would discuss Black culture with the teacher. An example was Price explaining that it is disrespectful for Black children to look authority figures in the eyes, not that they are trying to be deceitful or dishonest which is what the teacher initially thought. She recalled another new teacher, one of the new basketball coaches, who appeared to be oblivious to the race issue. Price said the coach just “fit in.”

In Williams’ response to the question regarding influential people in high school, he mentioned again his friends from elementary and his love for music. The friendships he created in elementary school had the most influence on him in high school. “...there were six of us that went through kindergarten and through the sixth grade together and then we all got together in high school. We were the leaders. We were very strong.” When I prompted Williams to explain how music was influential and extra-curricular activities in general, Williams explained that he thought the social aspect of extra-curricular activities, whether it is music or sports, forces people to “mingle.” In doing

this, he explained, the various groups learned about different aspects of other cultures, something that was not possible before integration.

Broussard stated that the most influential people for him during high school were primarily his friends. He discussed the importance of peers in adolescence and stated that his peers were all good students. “I think that because of them, in a lot of ways, I felt like I needed to be somewhat ambitious.” He jokingly relayed a story about a time during his senior year when he thought that he could skip college and live the fun life that he was living during that year. Broussard credits the peer pressure from his friends to do well that made him realize this plan would not work. He commented that his friends had continuously enrolled in more stringent courses and he followed as well.

When asked about influential persons during high school, Pegues returned to his teammates and his teachers. He restated that a self imposed peer competition among his friends pushed him to take challenging classes and to do well in them. After further questioning, M. Pegues stated that even though the school itself was a 50/50 ratio of Black and White students, many of his advanced math and science classes were more 25/75, Black and White. The numbers became more reflective of the school demographics in the liberal arts courses.

Question 6: Describe what you knew as the purpose for creating BTW as a magnet school.

Goodwin was keenly aware of the purpose for the magnet school, but stated that many questioned why the district concentrated on BTW with its “excellent” test scores instead of another north side high school such as McClain High School. He further described north Tulsa as a “city within a city” stating that it had its own doctors, lawyers,

stores, and the community knew everyone and helped everyone. His concern centered on students who did not gain acceptance into BTW. He said that many of these students needed extra support from the community for one reason or another because of things such as being mentally challenged. The teachers knew the families and could track these students through school. When these students left the neighborhood, this closeness was lost and many of them struggled, if they finished high school at all.

Those kids that were in the ninth and tenth grade that lived close and didn't finish, we will never hear from those kids again. They were hurt by this. They couldn't compete at Edison and Memorial and those kinds of things. They needed extra help, you know. They [the new teachers] didn't know these people couldn't read and write, but our faculty did.

Goodwin also offered his thoughts about the magnet program 33 years after he graduated from BTW. He returned to the attendance policy and local students still being turned away from their home school. He stated that some in north Tulsa feel the district tried to destroy some of the history of the community. The district had closed Carver, and Goodwin said the community did not doubt the district would do the same with BTW if the community did not capitulate on the magnet program. He stressed the deep connection between a community and its school, then stated, "We lost a little of that with the desegregation."

Jimerson admitted she did not completely know the reasons for creating BTW as a magnet school for desegregation purposes. "I think what I thought is that we were caught up in a nationwide trend to desegregate." When I prompted further on this questioning, Jimerson responded that the pride from being at BTW was going to make

anyone successful. She continued discussing school pride when she related a story of being named Ms. Hornet. “To this day it still has its benefits. I can go to a football game or basketball game and if there is an instructor there that was there, I will get in free or I will get free concession...[it] is that culture.” She stated that immediately after her 30 year class reunion, organizers began working on her 35th reunion.

Price commented she could not remember or she did not know at the time that the purpose of the project was to encourage White students to enroll in BTW as part of an overall desegregation plan. She did recall that she was aware the courts were involved in the desegregation of the district when she remembered returning home in north Tulsa after spending her ninth grade year in Detroit and people in the neighborhood telling her she had no choice to go to another school. “The elders in the community said, ‘Well, the court says that you have to go’.”

Price commented on this community awareness of the court orders when she discussed her junior year at BTW, the first year it reopened as a magnet school. “Some of the elders who had grown up [in north Tulsa] would say, ‘How’s that going over there where the court is forcing you guys to do this?’” She stated that, for her, the process was going very well. She was a leader in her class and she also participated in sports. “There were some kids that came from other schools and became very good friends through sports...we saw each other in the hallways and things like that. And that broke down some of the perceived barriers.” Price also mentioned that attending school with White students was neither new nor difficult for her as she had done that in elementary school.

Williams stated that he was not initially aware of the desegregation orders from the courts. He reminded me that in Oklahoma City he had attended Crooked Oak

Schools where they were fairly desegregated. Many of the students lived in or near the Crooked Oak Schools and had contact with each other outside of the school setting. He pointed out that this was not the case at BTW. “At Crooked Oak Schools, I think it was a lot easier to think of integration as something that just happened as opposed to being bused from the north side of town to the south side of town.”

Williams elaborated on his observations about students being bused around Tulsa by stating he thought it was unfair to have local students forced to attend a different school than BTW. When asked to expand on this further, Williams said he thought a lot of the people on the north side were “hurt.”

We went to school with these same kids and we played with these same kids that, every morning when it came time to go to school, they would be bused out to the south side whereas their parents went to Booker T. and a lot of their families also went to Booker T. Since it was changed to a magnet school, it has changed a lot of history that would have been kept. It [the attendance zone controversy] created a lot of problems. I don’t think it was intentional, but it did create a major upset in the north side community – historically and spiritually.

Williams commented he still witnessed some of this same controversy since he returned to Tulsa in 2003. He stated that his generation is now facing some of these same problems as they were graduates from BTW, but their children were not able to meet the requirements for acceptance and were being bused to another high school.

As a final thought Williams commented, “The magnet school really instilled in everyone, no matter what the race, that you can do anything.” He stated this attitude has helped him be successful in his life since graduation.

In regard to knowing about the creation of BTW as a magnet school for desegregation, Broussard stated that he remembered just knowing it at some point during high school. More than feeling like they were a part of a court ordered desegregation plan, Broussard stated the general attitude was that they were a part of a “good school” and that was what made them unique and work well together.

M. Pegues said that he knew well the reasons behind the magnet school at BTW: “I was living it.” He relayed stories about his father being away at various meetings during the early 70s and the family receiving threats for the work that J. Pegues was doing. He elaborated on this by stating that some of the students in two neighborhoods in which he had lived as a youth, Northland and Gilcrease Hills, chose to attend Central High School or McClain High School instead of BTW. They had various reasons for not attending BTW:

The majority of people who lived in that neighborhood [Northland], their parents went to Booker T.; they were all African American kids so they had a respect for that and they probably all had the same historical respect for the school as I did.

They just happened to be going to school somewhere else.

He added that it is different today as students have to apply to attend their neighborhood school if it is BTW. “Now I understand everybody has to apply and it is like this island.” These comments led me to explain perpetuation theory to M. Pegues and the idea of exposure to break down barriers whether they are race or something else. To this M. Pegues added his disappointment at the current application process because it limits the neighborhood kids to that exposure.

Emergent Themes

Some themes emerged across both groups and included the peacefulness inside the school with integration of students, the use of extra-curricular activities in desegregation, the reactions in the BTW attendance zone to the creation of the magnet school, and the ease with which the whole process occurred.

The most common theme that emerged during all of the interviews was the lack of racial tensions once the magnet school began. All interviewees commented in some way how they attributed this to extra-curricular activities. Lewis related a story of visiting the school one day and seeing the students in the cafeteria segregated at the tables. He asked Green about it and Green told him the students sat with their friends, but they all knew each other because many of them “played sports together or were in music together” (R. Lewis, personal communication, February 8, 2008). He talked about how the students were free to choose their classes and their teachers. As a result of this process many academic classes appeared segregated, but this did not happen with sports and extra-curricular classes.

Green retold the same story. He added that he went and talked to one of the students and asked the student why everyone seemed to be segregated in the cafeteria. Green stated the kid asked him if he went into a room and had the choice of sitting with his long time friends or with school mates who he would choose. When I asked specifically about racial tensions, Green responded, “That first year was pretty much a utopia” (H.J. Green, personal communication, March 22, 2008). He credited much of that initial success to the leadership of the senior class of 74. “They went out of their way to make it work” (H.J. Green, personal communication, March 22, 2008). While

there was a rise in some problems the second year, Green attributed this to the growing controversy over the attendance zone, which will be discussed below.

J. Pegues and McDonald both said they were limited in their interactions because they were outside the school system, but both did visit the school on occasion. J. Pegues said that he spoke every day to his kids.

My kids have never reported anything like that to me...When my kids were going to school, they talked to me every day. Every day. They would tell me what is going on and I never heard them say there was a racial problem at the school (J. Pegues, personal communication, March 27, 2008).

McDonald related the same story when she talked about walking the neighborhood streets with a north Tulsa Black minister. "I mean, there were not any big racial problems" (N. McDonald, personal communication, March 17, 2008).

The graduates interviewed echoed the lack of racial tensions and emphasized the role played by extra-curricular activities. All of the graduates participated in extra-curricular activities in one way or another, mostly in sports. Goodwin talked about how he had played little league with several of the students who transferred to the magnet school. "Athletics...transcends color. Kids don't see color, they play" (G. Goodwin, personal communication, June 23, 2008).

Broussard and M. Pegues, both who graduated in 1980, were teammates and made similar statements of this kind. Broussard continued to stress there was no animosity among the teammates.

Those folks that were involved in sports, they were very integrated and I think it made a big difference because you got to spend more time with kids that were

Black kids or White kids or whatever. So if you spend a lot of time doing it, it is going to force you to be together more (S. Broussard, personal communication, May 30, 2008).

M. Pegues stated that he did see some racial tensions, but when it came to sports there was nothing. He and his teammates went to each others' homes often. "Anytime you have a common enemy you come together. When you are playing sports, the other team is a common enemy" (M. Pegues, personal communication, April 27, 2008).

Price was also a sports player at BTW. She played basketball, softball, and ran track. She commented that sports were a great way to break down barriers that existed among the students. She added that she considered some of the White students who came to BTW as some of her closest high school friends as a result of sports. "We saw each other in the hallways...and that broke down some of the perceived barriers" (V.S. Price, personal communication, March 19, 2008).

Jimerson and Williams were both involved in extra-curricular activities such as music and drama. Jimerson did play tennis, but she looked more to music as her greatest passion. When I asked her about racial tensions in the city of Tulsa transferring to the high school, she responded, "That did not transfer to Washington" (C. O. Jimerson, personal communication, February 11, 2008). She added, "Athletics will bring about racial diversity as will music" (C. O. Jimerson, personal communication, February 11, 2008). Williams stated that most of his friends were those he was involved with in drama and speech activities.

I think it [role of extra-curricular activities] was awesome because a lot of the extra-curricular activities – sports, dance, theater, music - it's a whole lot different

than just education. From there you learn great social skills: how to mingle and how to understand other social aspects of other races we didn't have before integration. (K. Williams, personal communication, June 21, 2008).

Another emergent theme across all interviewees was the concern over the BTW attendance zone. The interview with J. Pegues centered on this subject more than any other. He stated the district initially accepted all students who lived in the BTW attendance area and only when they began referring to the school as a magnet school, around 1975, did they make the non-contiguous zones and force those living in the BTW attendance zone to apply. J. Pegues made the distinction between the magnet programs at other TPS schools and the magnet school at BTW and claimed this was a form of "discrimination" in its own right. McDonald referred to the attendance area as a "sticky issue." She claimed the benefit of having the former BTW students bused across the city outweighed the negativity created because the city became more integrated in the long run.

Green stated there were tensions in the north Tulsa neighborhood because of the attendance zone. He recalled that each year they sent out applications, they received questions from parents: "They didn't understand why they [their children] couldn't go to school there because they lived right across the street or down the road." Green went on to state what usually assuaged the concerns of local parents was the knowledge that BTW may have faced closing if the magnet school had not been created, a thought that others had expressed.

Howell also stated this fear of concerns over the attendance zone. He stated that he remembered TPS may have given BTW a small attendance area around the school

from which the students would not have to apply, but he was not sure if that still existed. Lewis was the only associate interviewed who stated the response to the attendance area was good. He stated the faculty, students, and parents were all ready for positive change in the school.

All of the graduates stated they were aware of the application process, with one exception. Some of them mentioned they remembered the controversy over the attendance zone from the beginning or early in the process while two did not mention the attendance zone at all. Broussard stated it was a very informal process and he knew of nobody who wanted to go who did not gain acceptance. Goodwin, on the other hand, stated he knew of students denied access to BTW and of other students who he could not recall applying, but wound up at BTW.

In regard to the attendance zone, Williams stated he knew of people who were upset because their children could not attend BTW when they themselves had graduated from there. He said that when he returned to Tulsa in 2003, he met former classmates who were now facing the problems of having their children not able to meet the application criteria and being denied access to BTW. In that sense he commented the racial tensions had not changed, they only had been transferred to the next generation. M. Pegues stated he had several friends who lived in the neighborhood, right across the street from the school in some instances; they all attended BTW. He implied this changed to the application process over time. "Now, I understand everybody has to apply and it is like this island."

Price and Jimerson both responded they were aware of the application process as both of them went through it, but they did not mention any tensions over the attendance

zone issue. TPS documents from the superintendent's office show the enrollment at BTW at the end of 1972-73 school year to be approximately 800 Black students. The enrollment at the beginning of the 1973-74 school year was 1100 students with 550 being White and 550 being Black (Tulsa Public Schools, 1973). These records indicate a loss of 250 Black students. Goodwin commented after further questioning, "I wish it had been done differently...those kids that were in the ninth and tenth grade that lived close and didn't finish; we will never hear from those kids again." They did not finish because they were denied access to their home school.

One final theme that emerged from both groups was the ease with which the transition to the magnet school was made within BTW itself. Lewis attributed the success of the school to Green and the working of the community behind McDonald. McDonald also credited Green with the success. Green, on the other hand, stated it was the leadership of the senior class that first year and the teachers who made it work so well. As for the graduates, nobody mentioned any problems within the school itself. They described themselves as a link between the school as it was and the history of BTW back in the neighborhoods. "We came to school everyday...but also came back to fifty years or two generations of parents that had gone to Booker T. Washington" (V.S. Price, personal communication, March 19, 2008).

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The previous chapter described the case study of associates of Booker T. Washington High School (BTW) involved in the creation of the magnet school and a sample of African American graduates from 1975-1980. I also gathered information from local newspapers, libraries, the National Archives in Fort Worth, Texas, and the Internet.

This chapter provides an analysis of all data through the lens of Well's (1995) perpetuation theory. Jomills Braddock II (1980) initially developed perpetuation theory based upon the work of Thomas Pettigrew's Contact-Hypothesis Theory. Braddock (1980) stated that students who do not attend interracial schools are likely to perpetuate the fears that prevented them from doing so. Wells (1995) added that African American students who do not attend interracial schools will limit their abilities to realize the intentions of *Brown* (1954), which were to give "African Americans access to predominantly White institutions...[and to]...enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances" (p. 159).

The following questions guided the research: 1) How did participation in a magnet school affect the purpose of desegregation? 2) How did perpetuation theory inform the understanding of the desegregation phenomenon at BTW? 3) How did perpetuation theory explain life experiences of graduates of BTW?

I presented questions to five people involved in the creation of the magnet school at BTW: the superintendent of Tulsa Public Schools (TPS), the Director of High Schools, the principal of BTW from 1973-1981 (the magnet school opened in 1973), the main leader of the north Tulsa Black community, and the main leader of the White community. These questions centered on the racial demographics of BTW, racial attitudes at BTW, the purpose of the magnet school, and the success or failure of that purpose.

I posed questions to six African American graduates from BTW between the years of 1975-1980. Three students graduated in 1975, one student graduated in 1978, and two students graduated in 1980. The questions centered on the graduates' overall experiences at BTW, friends of the graduates, and the influence they had on the graduates, career goals during high school, family backgrounds, influential people in their lives other than family, and their knowledge of the purpose behind the magnet school at BTW.

After I finished with the interviews, I transcribed them and then coded them for emergent themes. I used perpetuation theory to guide me as I highlighted quotes in all the interviews. Afterward, I took the quotes and organized them into themes.

Associates of Booker T. Washington

All of the people interviewed who were associated with the creation of BTW were involved in the school in one form or another prior to 1973, when BTW reopened. J. Pegues and McDonald, two community leaders, had worked with TPS during 1971 to create Burroughs Little School, an integrated elementary school in the place of Burroughs Elementary School.

All of the associates agreed there were tremendous racial tensions across the city during the early 1970s. TPS had worked to open Burroughs Little School in the fall of 1972, when the federal courts ordered the segregation of Carver Junior High. The district chose to close Carver and bus the Black students across the city, a move which heightened the racial frustrations. All of the associates interviewed stated in one form or another, the likelihood of closing BTW the following year when the federal court ordered the integration of BTW. Through the exhaustive efforts of J. Pegues, McDonald, and Green, the students at Burroughs, Carver, and BTW were integrated without the racial tensions of the city transferring to the schools.

All of the associates stated they were very aware of the reasons for the creation of BTW with three of them mentioning desegregation efforts in Oklahoma City specifically, saying they wanted to avoid the problems that district faced with forced integration. All agreed upon the great success that BTW has had since the creation of the magnet school. J. Pegues stressed the school had a rich history before the magnet school, which led to one of the emergent themes from the study, that of the attendance zone.

Graduates of Booker T. Washington

All of the graduates interviewed for the study described their experiences at BTW in a positive light. All except one graduate, Broussard, who moved to Oklahoma during the eighth grade, had a family tradition of attending and/or graduating from BTW. All of the graduates stated their closest friends during high school were students they had befriended in either elementary school or middle school. The exception to this was Broussard, who stated he had friends from the short time he attended Academy Central upon moving to Tulsa, but his closest friends in high school developed around sports.

All of the graduates stated they knew during or prior to their high school years that they wanted to go to college. Three graduates, Price, Pegues, and Broussard, admitted they did not know what they wanted to study while the others had goals of being lawyers or an educator. They all attributed this desire for a college education to a strong family tradition and support from their teachers, classmates, and, for some, people in the community. At the time of the study, all the graduates had attained their goals of a college education. Pegues, Broussard, and Jimmerson all worked as lawyers, Goodwin worked as a high school principal, Williams worked for the U.S. Department of Corrections, and Price had retired from an oil company where she worked as a project engineer.

Only one graduate mentioned that both parents held college degrees. Of the other five graduates, two had at least one parent with a college degree and two had at least one parent with some college, but no degree. Two graduates had one parent who did not finish high school for various reasons. One graduate did not mention his parents' education level.

Three different responses emerged regarding the most influential people other than family. Three graduates responded that teachers had the most influence on them during high school. A common theme among these answers was that the graduates felt free to talk to the teachers about their lives outside of school. The graduates also mentioned the frequency with which they saw their teachers outside the school setting and that some of the teachers had taught them in elementary school or middle school. Two graduates mentioned their friends having the most influence on them. Both of the students were involved in extra-curricular activities and named their friends in those

activities. One graduate mentioned the most influential people were the leaders of the community. As a leader himself, Goodwin stated that he would often go back into the community and seek advice from his pastor or close family friends. It should be mentioned that, after further probing, graduates who named teachers as their primary influences named their friends as secondary influences and *vice versa*.

A consensus emerged that while most students realized something important was happening with the magnet program, they did not completely understand the purpose was for desegregation. Pegues stated that he clearly knew what was going on because “I was living it.” Goodwin stated that he was aware of it, but had unanswered questions as to why the district chose BTW. Most agreed they learned TPS created the magnet school as a tool for desegregation at some point in their high school career, but could not say when.

The strongest emergent themes from the interviews across all interviewees involved the attendance zone controversy for those students living in the BTW attendance zone and the peaceful transition into the racially mixed atmosphere when BTW reopened. Everyone mentioned something about the attendance zone controversy when the enrollment of African American students dropped from 800 to 550 as the magnet school reopened. J. Pegues was the strongest voice against denying local students access to their home school. He stated BTW did not use the term “magnet school” until around 1975. This statement was also supported by McDonald. The first school documents or newspaper articles to mention the term “magnet school” do not appear before the 1975-1976 school year (Tulsa Public Schools, 1975).

J. Pegues continued by stating that the school began calling itself a magnet school when they began denying local students access by the application process. The

documents and other interviews do not agree with this position. The original application for the 1973-1974 school year, the first year of the magnet school at BTW, clearly states there is a screening process to determine acceptance (Tulsa Public Schools, 1973).

Newspapers articles appeared in *The Oklahoma Eagle* also indicated that local students were denied attendance at BTW when it reopened in 1973 (Landholt, 1973c; Landholt, 1973d). The articles discussed the school board's change from the initial 40/60 ratio to a 50/50 ratio of Black to White students. When the board accepted the change to 600 Black students, because there were 800 Black students at BTW, one must assume that the other 250 students were bused to other schools (H.J. Green, personal communication, March 22, 2008).

All of the interviewees commented in one way or another on the peacefulness of the transition from a segregated school to a desegregated school. Three out of five stated they visited the school throughout the year and they did not see any racially motivated problems nor did they hear of any outside the schools. All of the graduates themselves stated they did not see any conflicts out of the ordinary.

All of the graduates mentioned in one way or another how they thought extra-curricular activities aided in breaking down racial barriers. Five of the graduates played sports and a common response from them was that the players viewed themselves as a team with their opponents as a common enemy. Two of the graduates participated in music, drama, and/or debate. They commented similarly that participation in the extra-curricular activities allowed the students to interact with each other and resulted in breaking down any racial fears they may have had.

All of the associates viewed the experience of creating the magnet school at BTW with great pride. Howell commented the district had “stumbled” upon a great idea. Lewis stated that it was probably the best thing he did in the more than 40 years he worked in TPS. J. Pegues and McDonald were both humble in describing their contributions, but the evidence shows the process would not have begun if it had not been for their insistence and dedicated work to make it succeed. H.J. Green proved to be a strong leader and maintained the vision of preserving the heritage of BTW, by communicating with the Black community, while simultaneously showing that Black and White students could work together.

All of the graduates were extremely proud of graduating from BTW. Jimerson showed me a copy of her high school diploma that she hung in her law office along with her other degrees. All of the graduates had great memories of their time at BTW. They all stated they associated their successfulness in adulthood, in part, to their experiences at BTW. The other common thread they all shared was strong family support (Dudley, 2006; Landholt, 1973e).

Through the lens of perpetuation theory I was able to see that all of the graduates had similar backgrounds with supportive families. With one exception, all of the graduates had deep connections to BTW. They developed networks through their friends and teachers at BTW that allowed them access to quality higher education institutions. The graduates were able to associate their success to attending the desegregated magnet school at BTW.

SUMMARY

This chapter presented an analysis of the interview data gathered during the study. The interviews were conducted over a seven month period from February to August 2008. Through the lens of perpetuation theory, analysis showed consistencies among the graduates in regard to their backgrounds, their families, their goals, and their successes. Interviews of those associated with the creation of BTW also showed consistencies in their remembrances of the events leading to the creation of the magnet school and shortly thereafter, with few exceptions.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, BENEFITS, RECOMMENDATIONS, & COMMENTS

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to discover if the creation of Booker T. Washington High School (BTW) as a desegregation tool in the Tulsa Public School (TPS) system achieved the goal of desegregation to give “African Americans access to predominantly White institutions...[and to]...enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances (p. 531). TPS opened BTW in 1913 as a *de jure* segregated school. After the Supreme Court’s *Brown* (1954) decision, districts slowly began to integrate their schools. This process picked up momentum after the Court’s *Green* (1968) decision, at which time TPS began to make plans to desegregate its Black schools.

With strong community support, TPS reopened its first desegregated school in 1972 at Burroughs Elementary called Burroughs Little School. The following year, the federal court ordered the desegregation of Carver Junior High, which TPS subsequently closed (Broadb, 1972). The community came together again and helped reopen Carver as an integrated school along the lines of Burroughs Little School (Tulsa Public Schools, 1973; Broadb, 1972). In the spring of 1973, the federal court ordered the district to desegregate BTW for the 1973-74 school year. Once again, with strong community support, the district opened BTW in the fall of 1973 with 550 Black students and 550 White students (Tulsa Public Schools, 1971). The school had a strong commitment to a

vision of preserving the history of BTW while promoting collaboration among the students. The school attracted White students with an innovative, strong curriculum.

To determine if BTW achieved the goal of desegregation as defined by Wells (1995), I interviewed former administrators, community leaders, and six “African American graduates. Wells (1995) described the goals of *Brown* (1954) to give African Americans access to predominantly White institutions...[and to]...enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances” (p. 531). Questions to the graduates centered on their experiences at BTW, families, friends, career goals, and life experiences. Questions to the remainder centered on the creation of BTW, difficulties, if any, along the way, and their perceptions of its success.

Summary of the Findings

This study used the lens of perpetuation theory to determine if there were any long-term effects of attending a magnet school by assessing the lives and careers of African American graduates. The literature on school desegregation is lacking in longitudinal studies. Through the lens of perpetuation theory, this study supported previous literature on the subject, in part.

Perpetuation theory consists of two parts: the breaking down of fears concerning integrated situations and the development of social networks that lead to opportunities (Wells, 1995). This study clearly shows the graduates credited their abilities to deal with situations where they were minorities to their attendance in desegregated school settings. Two of the graduates had careers where they were “double” minorities. Price was an African American woman working as an engineer in the White, male dominated oil industry. Williams was an African American male working as an administrative assistant

in the White, female dominated secretarial field. Both credited their attendance at BTW with giving them the ability to deal with difficult situations as they arose. Both commented they confidently entered their fields and were successful.

Three of the graduates earned law degrees and were serving as lawyers at the time of the interviews.

Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to determine if BTW, Tulsa's first magnet school, achieved the desired long-term effects of desegregation, "giving African Americans access to predominantly White institutions...[and to]...enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances (Wells, 1995, p. 531). The following three research questions guided the study:

1. How did participation in a magnet school affect the purpose of desegregation?
2. How did perpetuation theory inform the understanding of the desegregation phenomenon at BTW?
3. How did perpetuation theory explain the life experiences of graduates of BTW?

The research questions are answered below.

Research Question 1

How did participation in the magnet school affect the purpose of desegregation? Considering the purpose of desegregation is to give "African Americans access to predominantly White institutions...[and to]...enhance their opportunities for social mobility and thus improve their life chances" (Wells, p. 159), the results of the

magnet program at BTW can only be viewed in a positive light. Jimerson, Price, and Williams commented they had attended desegregated schools within the TPS system, but they still faced harassment. Goodwin and J. Pegues were the only two graduates interviewed who lived in the BTW attendance zone. The others chose to attend BTW either because of family tradition and/or the advanced curriculum being offered. Because of the emphasis on curriculum and excellence at the magnet school, the graduates attributed their success to attendance at the magnet school.

After talking to Jimerson, Price, and Williams it is questionable whether the students would have received the same education at one of the other high schools in the city. A common practice during the early 1970s was to integrate the schools, but to have the students remain segregated within the buildings in their classes. According to Jimerson, Price, and Williams, this had happened to them at their previous schools. Not only were they segregated in their respective schools, but the administrators and counselors put them in lower level classes. Jimerson gained acceptance to BTW her junior year. Price eventually left Tulsa for a year and returned to attend her sophomore year at BTW. Williams stayed at Rogers until he gained acceptance into BTW two weeks after he began at Rogers.

The magnet school, with its emphasis on a strong curriculum, wide public support from the Black and White communities, and a strong leader in H.J. Green enabled the students to be successful where they might not have been otherwise. When the Supreme Court issued its decision in *Morgan v. Kerrigan* (1976) whereby it stated that magnet schools fulfill the transportation part of the Green Factors, magnet schools as a tool for

desegregation became a part of law. This study shows that participation in the BTW magnet school fulfilled the purpose of desegregation for these graduates.

Research Question 2

How did perpetuation theory inform the understanding of the desegregation phenomenon at BTW? The desegregation phenomenon at BTW is that the school was equally divided between Black and White students, a first for TPS. In this setting there were relatively few racially motivated incidents. The students were integrated in the school as a whole and in a majority of the classes. There were a few classes such as the upper math and science classes that had ratios of White to Black around 75:25 (S. Broussard, personal communication, May 30, 2008), but the important factor for this study is that the classes were open to all students.

According to Wells (1995), students who do not participate in interracial situations may not do so because of two fears: they may overestimate the degree of hostility they would encounter in an integrated setting, or they may underestimate their skill in coping with interracial situations. By facing integrated situations during elementary, middle, and/or high school, all of the graduates had overcome any fears they may have had by the time they became adults. All of the graduates stated in various forms that attending the magnet school in the integrated environment at BTW enabled them to handle similar situations later in life. A majority of the graduates commented they had experienced integration in either elementary school or middle school. “I will tell you that it was probably more fearful for the White students to come there [BTW] then for us to receive them” (C. O. Jimerson, personal communication, February 11,

2008). Perpetuation theory explains that the interaction among the students assuaged any fears they may have had in regard to integration.

Research Question 3

How did perpetuation theory explain the life experiences of graduates of BTW? All of the graduates interviewed for this study achieved success in their adult lives. Two of them sought careers in fields where they definitely were considered minorities, but credited their years at BTW with preparing them for this challenge. Price worked in the oil fields of the South, a career dominated by White men, as an African American woman.

I spent time in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, or up in East Texas on oil wells, meeting with foremen and technicians and things that when I pulled up in a company vehicle, they looked and said, ‘Wow!’ But that wasn’t a big [deal]. I mean I was used to that. I felt I was well prepared for that (V.S. Price, personal communication, March 19, 2008).

Before beginning a career with the Department of Corrections, Williams, an African American male, worked as an administrative assistant. When I asked Williams if he could attribute any tolerance, or the lack of tolerance, he faced as an administrative assistant to BTW he commented:

Definitely. Definitely. When I would come in to fill in for vacations when someone was gone, I could always see the look on the executives’ faces when I told them that I was their temporary fill in and they would kind of look at me like – we have never had a male secretary before...I would just sit down and take

over. They were taken back to see that I did have the skills that I professed to have (K. Williams, personal communication, June 21, 2008).

Five of the graduates had post-secondary college degrees and one had completed business school. They all attended predominantly White institutions with the exception of Goodwin, who earned a baseball scholarship to Tennessee State University. Four of the six earned graduate degrees: Broussard, Jimerson, and M. Pegues became lawyers, and Goodwin became a school administrator.

Perpetuation theory states students' fears of facing integrated situations will lessen overtime due to exposure. Many of the graduates stated they had faced integrated schools at Burroughs Little School and were prepared to attend school in a racially mixed environment. The theory also states that networking will develop as students interact with others and create strong ties and weak ties. Granovetter (1973) states the importance of weak ties because they are the acquaintances that give people information and access to opportunities that allow them to move up the social ladder. Wells & Crain (1994) explain this when they state that a person on the lowest rung of the social ladder will need these weak ties to advance upwards. People on the bottom of the social ladder have relatively few weak ties and are more reliant on strong familial ties. Because these ties are predominantly with close families, they are less likely to lead to weak ties. Without contact with the larger society or with people on different rungs of the social ladder, those on the bottom tend to limit their access to outside influences. To move up the social ladder, it is important for a person to develop and use weak ties, supporting the idea that it is not as important what one knows, but who one knows.

While interviews with the graduates did not find instances where the students stated explicitly that they could trace an achievement back to an acquaintance such as a teacher, the collective synergy from teachers, school personnel, and friends indicate the successful development of networking opportunities for the graduates. Perpetuation theory explains how the desegregation process at BTW was successful and the life experiences of the graduates as illustrated by the fact that all the graduates moved up the social ladder as they entered into professional careers.

Benefits

The findings from this study impact research, theory, and practice.

Research

There have been several studies involving perpetuation theory and school desegregation. The major contribution this study adds to the research is the longitudinal aspect it offers. From the beginning of school desegregation to the mid 1970s, most studies were quantitative and used test scores to look at short term effects of desegregation (Ballou, Goldring, & Liu, 2006; Blank, 1989; Orfield, 2004; Wolters, 2004; Yu & Taylor, 1997). When longitudinal studies began to appear in the early to mid 1970s, the political atmosphere changed and the demand for such studies on desegregation began to wane (Orfield, 2004). This study adds to closing the gap in longitudinal literature by looking at the long-term effects of desegregation, interviewing students and examining their experiences and lives 28 to 33 years after they graduated.

The study adds to the research on magnet schools as tools for desegregation because it shows that students who attended integrated schools that were not magnet schools still faced segregation within the school (V.S. Price, personal communication,

March 19, 2008; K. Williams, personal communication, June 21, 2008). The study shows that it is not just the magnet school, but the addition of a dedicated staff and administration to the mission of preserving the history of the former Black school with high academic standards. A strong leadership was necessary for BTW to be successful and this study is supported by research on school culture.

Theory

This study adds to the literature on perpetuation theory. Perpetuation theory developed over a 25 year period to include interactions among different races to reduce anxieties and developing networks to enable access to previously unknown information and contacts (Wells, 1995). For the first time the study looks at the lives of adults through the lens of perpetuation theory 28 to 33 years after they experienced desegregation in public schools. For some of the graduates, the desegregation occurred as many as 40 years previous to the study during their elementary years.

Practice

The study offers benefits to practice. School administrators, lawmakers, and judges will all benefit from the study. School administrators can use the results of the study when faced with similar situations in districts where schools face *de facto* segregation. Magnet schools are more expensive than regular schools and districts can not turn every school into a magnet school, but they can incorporate some of the same successful strategies into all their schools. If administrators wish to integrate a school, it is necessary to treat all students as equals and offer all the same opportunities. A strong vision with a mission to support it is necessary from the administration.

Lawmakers and judges have been easing up on desegregation for the past 20 years. This study showed the long-term benefits of attending desegregated schools were evident in the six African American graduates interviewed. All of the students became successful and were able to handle difficult situations in their lives with strategies they learned from attending a desegregated school. They developed tolerance to deal with all types of people in their various careers.

Recommendations

There is great potential for future research related to this study. As mentioned below, this framework can be applied to several other studies in the field related to magnet schools and desegregation.

The use of perpetuation theory to study the White students who attended BTW and how their lives were impacted by the experience of attending the magnet school could be conducted. Another study that would add to the full story of the BTW experience would be to use perpetuation theory as the lens to examine the lives of the approximately 250 African American students who were turned away from BTW in the fall of 1973. BTW ended the 72-73 school year with approximately 800 students. The enrollment increased to 1100 in the fall of 1973 with the reopening of the magnet school; 550 White and 550 African American students (Tulsa Public Schools, 1973). As a tool for desegregation, the magnet school has made the lives of its graduates better. A look at the lives of the 250 students whom the district turned away from their home school could be conducted.

Further studies could be conducted on the best way to create magnet schools. BTW still does not have a home district and turns students away whose parents,

grandparents, and great grandparents attended and/or graduated from BTW because the students do not meet the criteria for acceptance.

Comments & Reflections

In my career as an educator and historian, I have studied and seen inequities in education and know they still exist today. I was surprised to discover in my reading that magnet schools were initially created as tools of desegregation. With this in mind, I decided to see if Booker T. Washington High School was effective in achieving the goals of desegregation. What I discovered was that this is true in part, but there are many other variables that I had not considered.

Among the variables I discovered was the strong leadership and commitment to a mission that Green and Lewis had and maintained. The teaching staff at BTW was good, but, after the recruitment efforts of Green, it became excellent. The mission that he possessed was transferred to the strong faculty which helped encourage the students to succeed. All of the graduates had role models at home who pushed them to be successful. When those role models were combined with a very supportive faculty and administration, the onus of choosing the opportunity to succeed fell to the students because the choice was there. I would have liked to have found students who did not have such role models at home.

I was surprised to see the theme concerning the attendance zone emerge so strongly. I developed an appreciation for those who became upset when students who lived in the BTW attendance zone were turned away, especially after learning of the rich heritage the school has and that many of the students were probably second or third generation BTW students. There is a learning curve involved in this process, I believe.

In 1973 there were more than 83,000 students in TPS and 12% of them were African American (Tulsa Public Schools, 1972). In 2007 there were more than 42,000 students with almost 35% of them African American (Tulsa Public Schools, 2007). Considering the fact that it cost an average of \$200.00 more per student to run a magnet school, I can understand the hesitancy to limit the enrollment, especially, when one considers that in 1973 approximately 10,000 African American students were enrolled in TPS from which to choose 550 of the top high school students for the magnet program. In 2007 there were approximately 15,000 total African American students in TPS from which to choose the top 600 for the magnet program (Tulsa Public Schools, 2008). (The initial desired enrollment was to be 1200 students evenly split among African American and White students. The first year the number was 550 each, but from the second year on, it has been 600 each.)

In 1973 the top 550 African American high school students represented 5.5% of the African American enrollment and the top 550 White students represented .008% of the total White enrollment in the district. Those numbers in 2007 were 4% and 2% respectively. The success of the magnet program was evident through the interviews of the graduates. While the variables mentioned such as family support may not have been available to all, the top African American students in 1973 represented a larger percentage of the African American student body then it did in 2007. A future study could look at the possibilities of turning a school into a magnet school and keeping all local students in their home district. The number of incoming students would be adjusted to the number of local students each year. In the case of BTW this would have increased the enrollment from 1100 the first year to 1600 at a current cost of an additional \$100,000

at \$200.00 per student. In my opinion this becomes a cost benefit analysis where one asks is the support of the home district worth the support of increasing the enrollment while at the same time possibly bringing in students less qualified in academics. In 2007 the demographics are becoming close enough that the second part of that question is becoming moot.

A possible answer to this problem would be the solution found at Edison Preparatory High School in TPS. In 2002, TPS opened Edison as a school-within-a-school (Yu & Taylor, 1997). The school has an attendance zone which serves all students living in the Edison home area, but it also operates a magnet school within the regular school to which students must apply. The biggest controversy that emerged from the interviews concerned the attendance zone and the fact that students in the BTW attendance zone were forced to leave their home schools. J. Pegues stated:

Edison has a magnet school, very much different from Booker T., okay? At Edison, every child who lives in the Edison High School district...*every* child who lives in the Edison High School district has the right to go to Edison High School. They can either qualify to be in the magnet program or they don't have to, but they can go to their high school without any qualifications. (J. Pegues, personal communication, March 27, 2008)

In light of this comment, it may benefit TPS to consider making the magnet school at BTW a magnet program within the school. This would sooth the latent tension among those still concerned with the problem of locals not being allowed to attend their local school. I am not sure this would be an option now, with the 35 year history of success

behind it. But this would certainly be beneficial advice for future plans for magnet schools and how to implement them.

And what of the 250 students turned away from their home school that first year?

Goodwin commented:

Those kids that were in the ninth and tenth grade that lived close and didn't finish, we will never hear from those kids again. They were hurt by this. They couldn't compete at Edison and Memorial and those kinds of things. They needed extra help, you know. They didn't know these people couldn't read and write, but our faculty did. (G. Goodwin, personal communication, June 23, 2008)

To think that TPS may have "sacrificed" those students for the success of BTW is too strong of a statement to make. That would imply the district knew what it was doing when it denied those students access to their home school. I do not believe the administration and those involved intentionally pushed those students to the fringes. I believe the district did an amazing job at solving an unbelievably difficult situation.

For the current study I think the biggest limitation that I encountered was not finding graduates who were not successful after high school at BTW. I am sure they are out there, but the fact that they are not successful would indicate a greater chance they would not be involved in the school in any way or would not visit places where they may have seen an advertisement for the study.

Magnet schools fulfill one part of the Green Factors required to maintain unitary status - transportation. Future studies, in light of the resegregation occurring in public education over the past 20 years, should concentrate on the other Green Factors. The resegregation of public education mentioned by many of the researchers in the literature

review is taking on a new face in the 21st century. This new face is not concerned with race so much as socioeconomic status. As a researcher, the limits of studies along the lines of this current study are boundless. It is upon the successes and the failures of the “experiment” at BTW these new studies can be launched.

References

- Alexander v. Board of Education, 396 U.S. 19 (1969).
- Austin, A.E. (1990). Faculty cultures, faculty values. In W. G. Tierney (Ed.), *Assessing academic climates and cultures* (pp. 61-74). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bell, G. K. (2008). Tolson, Farmer intertwined by Wiley debate team. *Marshall News Message*. Retrieved September 17, 2008, from http://www.marshallnewsmessenger.com/featr/content/features/greatdebaters/farmer_tolson.html?cxtype=rss&cxsvc=7&cxcat=5
- Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell, 498 U.S. 237 (1991).
- Ballou, D., Goldring, E., & Liu, K. (2006). Magnet schools and student achievement. Retrieved September 1, 2007, from <http://www.ncspe.org/>
- Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U.S. 497 (1954).
- Braddock, J.H. (1980). The perpetuation of segregation across levels of education: A behavioral assessment of the contact-hypothesis. [Electronic version]. *Sociology of Education*, 53, 178-186.
- Bradley v. School Board, 382 U.S. 103 (1965).
- Briggs v. Elliott, 132 F. Supp. 776 (E.D.S.C. 1955).
- Broad, G. (1972, August 27). Schools face woes in opening Monday. *Tulsa World*, p. A1.
- Broad, G. (1972, February 8). Carver will reopen as mid-grade unit, school board votes. *Tulsa World*, pp. A1, A4.
- Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

- Bush, L. V., Burley, H. & Causey-Bush, T. (2001). Magnet schools: Desegregation or resegregation? Students' voices from inside the walls. *American Secondary Education* 29(3), 33-50.
- Chafee, E. E., & Tierney, W. G. (1988). *Collegiate culture and leadership strategies*. New York: American Council on Education.
- Creswell, J.W. (2003). Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches. (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Croom, K. (2003). A qualitative analysis of one United States school district's quest to eliminate the vestiges of school segregation: Implications for other southern school districts (Doctoral dissertation, the University of Alabama, 2003). *Dissertation Abstracts International*.
- Desegregation Digest. (1973). [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools: Gordon Cawelti.
- Desegregation Digest. (1972). [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools: Gordon Cawelti.
- Dudley, K. (2006, February 27). Green key figure in Booker T. history book. *Red Orbit News*. Retrieved March 24, 2008, from <http://www.redorbit.com/modules/news/tools.php?tool=print&id=407920>
- Earline Walker and Victoria Sanders v. Independent School District No. 1 of Tulsa County, Oklahoma et al. (70-C-269).
- Enrollment Application for Booker T. Washington High School. (1973). [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools.
- Enrollment Application for Booker T. Washington High School. (1975). [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools.

- Enrollment Application for Carver Middle School. (1975). [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools.
- Frankenberg, E. & Lee, C. (2002). Race in American public schools: Rapidly resegregating school districts. Retrieved December 1, 2006, from http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/Race_in_American_Public_Schools1.pdf
- Freeman v. Pitts, 502 U.S. 467 (1992).
- Ganstone, P. & Jeffrey, C.J. (1971, August 26). Citizens urged to join Freedom School effort. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 9A.
- Gersti-Pepin, C. (2002). Magnet schools: A retrospective case study of segregation. [Electronic version]. *High School Journal* 85(3), 47-53.
- Goodwin, E.L. (1969a, November 20). Washington integration queried by interested north Tulsa citizens. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1, 7.
- Goodwin, E.L. (1969b, November 27). Cawelti speaks at Washington. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1, 13.
- Goodwin, E.L. (1970a, January 29). Central hi racial clash hospitalizes 2. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1, 8.
- Goodwin, E.L. (1970b, November 5). Douglas Freedom School teachers work without pay to aid cause. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 7A.
- Goodwin, E.L. (1971a, September 9). Materials needed for Freedom School. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 9A.
- Goodwin, E.L. (1971b, September 16). Freedom School opens with 238 attendance, needs funds. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 8A.

- Goss v. Board of Education, 373 U.S. 683 (1963).
- Granovetter, M.S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. [Electronic version]. *The American Journal of Sociology* 78(6), 1360-1380.
- Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. 430 (1968).
- Griffin v. School Board, 377 U.S. 218 (1964).
- Guthrie, J.W. & Springer, M.G. (2004). Returning to square one: From *Plessy* to *Brown* and back to *Plessy*. [Electronic version]. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 79(2), 5-32.
- Jeffrey, C. J. (1971, February 11). Freedom School students adjusting well at Lindsey. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A-2A.
- Kelley, R.C., Thornton, B., & Daugherty, R. (2005). Relationships between measures of leadership and school climate. [Electronic version]. *Education* 126(1), 17-25.
- Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).
- Kuh, G.D. (1993). Appraising the character of a college. [Electronic version]. *Journal of Counseling and Development* 71(6), 661-668.
- Kuh, G.D., & Whitt, E. J. (1988). The invisible tapestry: Culture in American colleges and universities. *AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Report, No. 1*. Washington, DC: American Association for Higher Education.
- Landholt, P. (1973a, February 22). Sanders presents statement to local school board. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 8A.
- Landholt, P. (1973b, March 8). Washington plan takes shape. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 6A.

Landholt, P. (1973c, March 15). School board favor 60-40 plan for BTW. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 8A.

Landholt, P. (1973d, March 22). Board votes 600 Blacks for Washington High. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, p. 1A.

Landholt, P. (1973e, October 18). Green emphasizes Washington's traditions. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 8A.

Mays. (1972, August 10). Carver to open as a strong middle school: To supply missing link in Burroughs to Washington educational chain. *The Oklahoma Eagle*, pp. 1A, 9A.

McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, 339 U.S. 637 (1950).

Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, ed al. (05-915).

Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. 717 (1974).

Missouri v. Jenkins, 495 U.S. 33 (1990).

Monroe v. Board of Commissioners, 391 U.S. 450 (1968).

Morgan v. Kerrigan, 426 U.S. 935 (1976).

Norton, M.B., Katzman, D.M., Blight, D.W., Chudacoff, H.P. Paterson, T.G., Tuttle, W.M. Jr., et al. (2001). A people and a nation: A history of the United States (6th ed.). New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Oklahoma State Department of Education. (2008). *Tulsa Public Schools, No Child Left Behind Act Annual Report Card 2006-2007*. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Options in Educational Opportunities for Students: Tulsa Public Schools Magnet Schools. (1979). Tulsa Public Schools.

Orfield, G. & Lee, C (2007). Historic reversals, accelerating resegregation, and the need for new integration strategies. Retrieved September 1, 2007 from

http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/deseg/reversals_reseg_need.pdf

Orfield, G. & Lee, C. (2006). Racial transformation and the changing nature of segregation. Retrieved December 5, 2006, from

http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/Racial_Transformation.pdf

Orfield, G. (2002). The impact of racial and ethnic diversity on educational outcomes: Cambridge, MA School District. Retrieved December 20, 2006 from

http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/diversity/cambridge_diversity.pdf

Orfield, G. & Eaton, S.E. (1996). Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of

Brown v. Board of Education. New York: The New Press.

Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, et al. (05-908).

Patsy Dove Bohlander v. Independent School District No. 1 of Tulsa County, Oklahoma et al. (69-C-103).

Patton, M.Q. (2002). Qualitative research & evaluation methods. (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Raney v. Board of Education, 391 U.S. 443 (1968).

Read, F.T. (1975). Judicial evolution of the law of school integration since *Brown v.*

Board of Education. [Electronic version]. *Law and Contemporary Problems* (39)1, 7-49.

Reardon, S. F., & Yun, J.D. (2001). Suburban racial change and suburban school segregation, 1987-95. [Electronic version]. *Sociology of Education* 74(2), 79-101.

Rogers v. Paul, 382 U.S. 198 (1965).

Rossell, C. (2003). The desegregation efficiency of magnet schools. [Electronic version].

Urban Affairs Review 38(5), 697-726.

San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez, 411 U.S. 1 (1973).

Schein, E. H. (1985). *Organizational culture and leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schofield, J.W. (1991). School desegregation and intergroup relations: A review of the literature. [Electronic version]. *Review of Research in Education*, 17(6), 335-409.

School Integration. (1971). [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools: Gordon Cawelti.

Singleton v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District, 348 F.2d 729 (5th Cir. 1965).

Sipuel v. Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma, 332 U.S. 631 (1948).

Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1971).

Sweatt v. Painter, 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

Tarter, C.J., Bliss, J.R., Hoy, W.K. (1989). School characteristics and faculty trust in secondary schools. [Electronic version]. *Educational Administration Quarterly* 25(3), 294-308.

To the Beat of a Different Drum. (1973). *Report of the superintendent* [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools: Gordon Cawelti.

Tuerk, P.W. (2005). Research in the high-stakes era: Achievement, resources, and No Child Left Behind. [Electronic Version]. *Psychological Science* 16(1), 419-425.

Tulsa Public Schools Magnet Schools: Carver Middle School. (1975). [Brochure]. Tulsa Public Schools.

United States v. Board of Education, Independent School District No. 1 of Tulsa County, Oklahoma, et al. (68-C-185).

- United States v. Montgomery Board of Education, 395 U.S. 225 (1969).
- United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 372 F.2d 836 (5th Cir. 1966).
- Wagner, Christopher. (2004). Leadership for an improved school culture. [Electronic Version]. *Kentucky School Leader* Fall 2004/Winter 2005, 10-16.
- Waston v. Memphis, 373 U.S. 526 (1963).
- Where Do We Go From Here. (1972). [Brochure]. Tulsa: Gordon Cawelti.
- Wells, A.S. (1995). Reexamining social science research on school desegregation: Long-versus short-term effects. [Electronic version]. *Teachers College Record* 96(4), 691-706.
- Wells, A.S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. [Electronic version]. *Review of Educational Research* 64(4), 531-555.
- Wells, A.S., Crain, R.L., & Uchitelle, S. (1994). When school desegregation fuels educational reform: Lessons from suburban St. Louis. [Electronic version]. *Educational Policy*, 8(1) 68-88.
- Whaley, J.W.S (2003). Powerful professional development: A perpetuation theory and network analysis of teachers' perceptions of the national board for professional teaching standards certification process (Doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 2003). *Dissertation Abstracts International*.
- Wolters, R. (2004). From *Brown* to *Green* and back: The changing meaning of desegregation. [Electronic version]. *The Journal of Southern History* 70(2), 317-326.

Yin, R.K. (1994). *Case studies: Research and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications.

Yu, C.M., & Taylor, W.L., editors (1997). *Difficult choices: Do magnet schools serve children in need?* Retrieved September 1, 2007, from http://www.ncwge.org/documents/comments_CitizensComm.pdf

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR GRADUATES OF
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL

Interview Protocol for Graduates of Booker T. Washington High School

My procedure:

- A. I will introduce myself.
- B. I will explain my research and ask if the interviewees have questions.
- C. I will explain the consent form and obtain a signature.

The following focus questions will be asked:

1. Describe your high school experience at Booker T. Washington.
2. Describe your friends at Washington and what influence they had on you in high school and have had since you graduated from high school.
3. What were your career goals in high school and how were they different, if any, from what your career is now?
4. Describe your family background.
5. Who were the most influential persons for you during high school other than family? Explain why these people were influential.
6. Describe what you knew as the purpose for creating Booker T. Washington as a magnet school.

Additional probe questions are likely to develop from the interviews or the interview data. Given the characteristics of ties (time, intimacy, intensity, and reciprocity), probes will seek information in this area. Specific questions may include inquiries about networking.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR THOSE AFFILIATED
WITH BOOKER T. WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL

Interview Protocol for those affiliated with Booker T. Washington High School

My procedure:

- A. I will introduce myself.
- B. I will explain my research and ask if the interviewees have questions.
- C. I will explain the consent form and obtain a signature.

The following focus questions will be asked:

1. Describe your relationship with Booker T. Washington High School.
2. What did you see as the negative and/or positive aspects of the racial make-up of Booker T. Washington?
3. Did the magnet program change the racial attitudes of the school? The district?
4. Describe what you knew as the purpose for creating Booker T. Washington as a magnet school?
5. How would you judge the success or failure of Booker T. Washington and its goal as a magnet school?

Additional probe questions are likely to develop from the interviews or the interview data. Given the characteristics of ties (time, intimacy, intensity, and reciprocity), probes will seek information in this area. Specific questions may include inquiries about networking.

APPENDIX C
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
APPROVAL FORM

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date: Tuesday, January 15, 2008
IRB Application No: ED07126
Proposal Title: The Effectiveness of Magnet Schools in Achieving School Desegregation and Enhanced Life Chances: A Case Study of Booker T. Washington High School, 1975-1980

Reviewed and Expedited
Processed as:

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 1/14/2009

Principal Investigator(s)

James Adnan Fennell
1231 S. Louisville
Tulsa, OK 74112

Ken Stein
311 Wilkard
Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 45.

The final versions of any planned recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are anticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the board, please contact Beth McEwen at 218 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcewen@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



Sheila Kennison, Chair
Institutional Review Board

VITA

James Adrian Ferrell

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Dissertation: A MAGNET SCHOOL AND DESEGREGATION: A CASE STUDY OF
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL, 1975-1980

Major Field: Educational Administration

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Chickasha, Oklahoma, December 2, 1969.

Education: Graduated from Broxton High School, Apache, Oklahoma, in May 1988; received Bachelor of Arts degree in History from Oklahoma City University in May 1992; received teaching credentials from the University of Central Oklahoma in May 1993; received Master of Arts degree in History from the University of Central Oklahoma in December 2000; completed the requirements for the Doctor of Education degree in Educational Administration from Oklahoma State University in December 2008.

Experience: Teacher, Union City Schools, Union City, Oklahoma, 1994-2002; Teacher, Agra Schools, Agra, Oklahoma, 2002-2004; Teacher, Caney Valley Schools, Ramona, Oklahoma, 2004-2006; Middle School Principal, Caney Valley Schools, Ramona, Oklahoma, 2006 to present.

Professional Memberships: Cooperative Council for Oklahoma School Administration; National Council for History Educators; Organization of American Historians; American Educational Research Association.

Name: James Adrian Ferrell

Date of Degree: December, 2008

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: A MAGNET SCHOOL AND DESEGREGATION: A CASE STUDY OF
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL, 1975-1980

Pages in Study: 135

Candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Education

Major Field: Educational Administration

Scope and Method of Study: In 1976 the Supreme Court accepted magnet schools as viable parts of the criteria to gain unitary status; to be declared desegregated by the federal government. This study examined the lives of a sample of African American graduates from Booker T. Washington High School (BTW), Tulsa's first magnet school, to determine if attendance at a magnet school aided in achieving the goals of desegregation. Graduates were interviewed regarding their experiences at BTW, families, friends in high school and before, goals in high school, and their lives since graduation. A second group included those associated with the creation of BTW as a magnet school. Those interviews centered on the associates' involvement in the creation of the magnet school, their perceptions of racial attitudes in the school and district before and after the magnet school, and their thoughts on the success of the magnet school in achieving the goals of desegregation.

Findings and Conclusions: Through the lens of perpetuation theory, the interview data revealed that all the graduates who participated in the study achieved the goals of desegregation after attending the magnet school. All of the graduates responded they attended, or could have attended, predominantly white higher education institutions. They stated they had strong family support and support from a large network of friends and teachers at BTW that aided in their being accepted in higher education institutions. All of the graduates responded they had lived successful lives since their graduation and linked that success back to attendance at BTW. They also responded they were able to deal with minority situations in their lives with ease, especially two graduates who were "double" minorities in their fields. Perpetuation theory consists of two parts: the breaking down of fears concerning integrated situations and the development of social networks that lead to opportunities that otherwise may not have existed. Perpetuation theory showed that magnet school attendance at BTW aided in the development of both of these aspects for the graduates interviewed. The interviews with those associated with the creation of BTW revealed they had the purpose of creating a school that maintained the traditions of the former *de jure* Black high school. A single controversy emerged regarding the attendance zone of BTW because the district made all students apply for admission. The study offers suggestions to alleviate these tensions when other districts are faced with similar circumstances.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: _____ A. Kenneth Stern